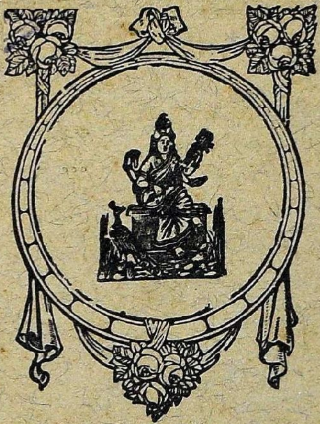
Quarterly Vol. XIII, Part III

THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH MADRAS

July—September



1939

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

MADRAS
PRINTED AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE
1939

Annual subscription, Inland, Rs. 6. Foreign, 10 sh.
Each part separately Rupees Two, Postage inclusive.

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THE MEANING OF "ŚRUTI" IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE OF KASHMIR.

BY

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The Kashmir school of Śaiva philosophy is a non-vedic system. It is technically called Trika, among other reasons, for following the authority of the three Śaivāgamas (I) Siddhā (II) Nāmaka and (III) Mālinī.

अत एवाह तत्सारं त्रिकशास्त्रम्,
तच्च सिद्धानामकमालिन्याख्यखण्डत्रयात्मकत्वात् त्रिविधम्
........एवं च न "तदस्तीह यन्न" इत्यादि युक्तमेवोक्तम्

T. A. Vol. I, p. 49.

It gives the Veda the lowest position.

वेदाच्छैवं ततो वामं ततो दक्षं ततः कुलम् ।
ततो मतं ततश्चापि त्रिकं सर्वोत्तमं मतम् ॥

T. A. Vol. I, p. 49.

When asked to state the authority of Śruti in support of some of its philosophical doctrines, it definitely says that it follows the authority not of the Śruti but that of the Āgamas. The final reply that it gives to the question of the vedic authority for its doctrines is that such a vedic authority is not to be found in the existing vedic literature but has got to be assumed exactly as the followers of the Veda have got to do in the case of the Aṣṭakā of which Manu speaks:—

तेन यथा मन्वादिस्मृतौ उत्सन्नशाखामूलत्वादष्टकादियागानां मूलभूता श्रुतिः कल्प्यते तथा इहापि ज्ञेयम् ।

T. A. 46-7 I.

Bhāskara, in his commentary on the Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī of Abhinava, which has been edited by us for the first time and the first volume of which has recently been published by the Government of the United Provinces, definitely says that

it is an act of folly to look for the authority of Śruti for the doctrines of the Trika School of Philosophy as given in the Āgamas.

तत्रापि श्रुतिप्रमाणमार्गणं मूढता कार्यमेत्र

Bhāskarī, Vol. I, p. 15.

One of the chief distinctive features, which is the unmistakable sign of its being non-vedic, is the fact that it is meant for all the castes and both the sexes; the fourth caste (the Śūdra) and women are not debarred from it.

"जनस्य" इति, यः कश्चिज्जायमानस्तस्य, इत्यनेनाधिकारिविषयो नात्र कश्चिन्नियम इति दर्शयति । अधिकारिनियमनिषेधश्चात्र वर्णविभागमपेक्ष्य कृतः । यथा वेदान्तेषूपनीतस्य त्रैवर्णिकस्यैवाधिकारस्तथा नेहेति ।

Bhāskarī, Vol. I, p. 30.

The word "Śruti" in this literature is very often used in the sense in which the writers on the orthodox vedic schools use it. But frequently it is used in the wider sense also for the works looked upon as authoritative by the writers of this system.

In Bhagavadgītārtha Saṅgraha itself Abhinavagupta himself refers to Vijñāna Bhairava as Śivopaniṣad. For instance, in the commentary on verses 10 and 11 Ch. VII, he says:—

उक्तं च शिवोपनिषदि

and quotes from the Vijñāna Bhairava.

इच्छायामथवा ज्ञाने जाते चित्तं निवेशयेत् ।

This is found in the Vijñāna Bhairava, *page 85* Kashmir Edition.

Again in his commentary on verses 27 and 28 of the fourth chapter he says:—

तदुक्तं शिवोपनिषदि

and quotes from the Vijñāna Bhairava the following verse:—

भावे त्यक्ते निरुद्धा चिन्नैव भावान्तरं व्रजेत् ।
तदा तन्मयभावेन विकसत्यतिभावना ॥

This is also found in the Kashmir edition of the work as verse 62 on page 51.

In his biggest philosophical work, his commentary on the Ṭīkā of Utpalācārya, which is also called Vivṛti, on his own

Īśvarapratyabhijñā Kārikā, called Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛti Vimarśinī, he refers to Śaivāgama as Upaniṣad. For instance, in his commentary on verse 14, Āhnika 7, Adhikāra I, he says:—

यदुक्तं शिवविज्ञानोपनिषदि

and quotes the following verse:—

ग्राह्यग्राहकसंवित्तिः सामान्या सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
योगिनां तु विशेषोऽयं संबन्धे सावधानता ॥

V. Bh., p. 29.

This work of Abhinava has not yet been published. I am quoting from the transcript of the Ms. of the work in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, which I got prepared in 1934.

The fact is that the whole of the Āgamic literature on which the Trika School of Philosophy is based was looked upon as Upaniṣad. On this point we have the authority of Jayaratha who has commented upon the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta. In his introduction to the 9th verse, 1st Āhnika, he says:—

निखिलशास्त्रोपनिषद्भूतस्य षडर्धक्रमविज्ञातस्य त्रैयम्बकसन्तानद्वारेणावतारकत्वादाद्यं कैलासस्थं श्रीश्रीकण्ठनाथाख्यम् ।

T. A. Vol. II, p. 28.

The word "*Upaniṣad*" being used for the Śaiva works of respectable authority, the word "*Śruti*" also is naturally used in reference to them. For, in the works of the orthodox vedic schools of philosophy it is used for Upaniṣad. Śaṅkarācārya, for instance, in quoting the Vedic Upaniṣads refers to them as Śruti.

His commentary on verse 5 and 6 of the 8th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā is not the solitary instance of his reference to the non-vedic work as Śruti. In his Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛti Vimarśinī he refers to the Bhagavadgītā also as Śruti and quotes from it. The passage runs as follows:—

ततः प्राप्तेऽपि गमनादिसाध्ये वस्तुनि लब्ध्वापि सुखप्राप्त्यादौ नो विरमत्येव सा तत एव कामसमय एवायं पुरुषो दाता च प्रतिग्रहीता च श्रुत्या निरूपितः ; आह च "श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषः" ।

This occurs in the commentary on verse 4, Āhnika 7, Adhikāra, I. The part of the verse quoted in the above passage

is a part of the 3rd verse in the 17th chapter of the Bhagavad-gītā.

Jayaratha also in his commentary on the 22nd verse of the 11th Āhnika of the Tantrāloka quotes a line from the Svacchanda Tantra as from a Śruti.

तथात्वे हि—"षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वमुखानि" इत्यादिश्रुतिविरोधः स्यात् ।

T. A. (comm.) Vol. VII, p. 14, (Second part).

This is found in The Svacchanda Tantra, Vol. III, p. 2, Kashmir Edition.

It may be noted here that there is just a slight difference between the reading as quoted by Jayaratha and that as found in the published text of the Svacchanda Tantra. While the former has मुखानि, the latter has मुख्यानि. The latter seems to be more correct because in the former case a slight metrical defect is involved.

Let us now see if the passage in the Bhagavadgītārtha Saṅgraha admits of an interpretation different from that which led me to state the following in my "Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study" Vol. I, p. 58.

"Abhinavagupta quotes from it (Ādhāra Kārikā) as from a Śruti the following verse "Tīrthe śvapaca" etc.

Let us, therefore, find out

(I) what is the point in support of which the quotation is given;

(II) whether there is justification to suppose that "Pramāṇa-bhūta-Śruti-virodhāt" refers to vedic passages like "ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति";

(III) whether the vedic passage, supposed to be in the mind of Abhinavagupta, fits in the context;

(IV) whether the language of the commentary admits of the interpretation that "with अस्ति हि "तीर्थे" etc. we have the next sentence giving additional authority."

All these points arise in connection with the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the following verses in the 8th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā:—

" अन्तकाले च मामेव "

" यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावम् "

The question that is discussed here is whether the future life or emancipation of a man depends upon what he remembers at the time of death; whether remembrance, at the time of death, of what a man's mind has been always occupied with during the lifetime, necessarily determines his future existence. The reply of Śaṅkarācārya to this question is different from that of Abhinavagupta.

(I) According to Śaṅkara, it is unnecessary for final emancipation but necessary for the attainmant of different higher worlds.

तत्र यानि तावत्सम्यग्दर्शनार्थान्युपासनानि तान्यवघातादिवत् कार्यपर्यवसानानीति ज्ञातमेवैषमावृत्तिपरिणामम् । .... यानि पुनरभ्युदयफलानि तेष्वेषा चिन्ता किं किंचित्कालं प्रत्ययमावर्त्या विरमेदुत यावज्जीवमावर्तयेत्, आप्रायणादेवावर्तयेत्, प्रत्ययम्, अन्त्यप्रत्ययवशाददृष्टफलप्राप्तेः ।

(Śāṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 844. Nirnaya Sagar Edition 1904.) The fact, as stated by himself in his commentary on the verses of the Bhagavadgītā, quoted above, and explained by another commentator, Ānandagiri, is that the remembrance of the Ultimate in the case of the one who has realised Brahman automatically takes place inspite of the physical disorder at the time of death, because of his having risen above the body and, therefore, not being affected by any disorder in it. The case with the one who has been concentrating on some divine being is different. He needs conscious effort at remembrance. And if he fails in it he will be only what his mind is occupied with at the time of death. Thus while the one who has realised the Brahman has left nothing to do to get merged in the Ultimate after death, the merging is an automatic process after self-realisation; the attainment of the higher worlds requires conscious effort at remembrance, without which, and even in the case of failure in which, the attainment of the desired will not take place.

Abhinavagupta's position is slightly different. He has interpreted अन्तकाल as अन्त्यक्षण, as the following lines in his commentary make abundantly clear:—

"ननु पुत्रकलत्रबन्धुभृत्यैः शिशिरोदकपानादेर्वा अन्त्ये क्षणे दृष्टं स्मरणम् इति तद्भावापत्तिः स्यात् ? मैवम् । न हि सोऽन्त्यो क्षणः स्फुटदेहावस्थानात्, न ह्यसावन्त्यः क्षणोऽस्मद्विवक्षितो भवादृशैर्लक्ष्यते ।"

What the implication of this "अन्त्यक्षण" is, has been made clear by him in his Tantrāloka, as quoted by Vāmadevācārya in his Janmamaraṇa Vicāra as follows:—

तामेव यियासुतामधिकृत्य प्रवरमुनिः पाराशर्यः समाधितवान्

"यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावम्"

इति । अयमत्र संक्षेपार्थः । संभवभोगः

जन्मभोगः स्थितिभोगश्च इति तिस्रः शरीरस्य प्रागवस्था भवन्ति, मृतिभोगः यियासुता च द्वे चरमावस्थे तत्र मृतिभोगः विचित्राशरीरपीडा, यियासुता आतिवाहिकशरीरसंबद्धा तामेव च यियासुतामुद्दिश्य "यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावम्" इत्यादि प्रवृत्तम्

एतदेव वितत्य तन्त्रालोके प्रतिपादितम्

....

यस्त्वसौ क्षण एवैकश्चरमः प्राणनात्मकः ।
सा देहत्यागकालांशकला प्राणवियोगिनी ॥
तस्यां यदेवं स्मरति प्राक् संस्कारप्रबोधितः ।
तदेव रूपमभ्येति सुखदुःखविमोहितम् ॥

K.S.S. Edition, pp. 17-8.

His position is that remembrance as a conscious act of will is not a factor which determines the future existence of a being, whether he has been concentrating on the Ultimate or some inferior god, or something else. The future existence is determined by the past predominant mental state which automatically recurs in the last moment "अन्त्यक्षण". There is no causal relation of remembrance with the future existence in any case. It is something which simply happens as a matter of course. This is what Abhinava has said in the course of his commentary:—

ननु एवमन्तकाले किं प्रयोजनं तत्स्मरणेन ? क एवमाह प्रयोजनमिति, किन्तु वस्तुवृत्तोपनतमेव तद्भवति तस्मिन्नन्त्ये क्षणे ।

Now it is to emphasise the inefficacy of the mental contents, whatever their nature, in determining the future existence that Abhinava quotes from the Ādhāra Kārikā:—

"तीर्थे श्वपच"

This is what the following lines which precede the quotation make clear :—

तस्मादेवं विध्यनुवादौ सदा येन भावितमन्तःकरणं तदेवान्ते प्रयाणानन्तरं प्राप्यते तच्च स्मर्यते न वा इति नात्र निर्बन्धः अन्वाचयश्चायमपिशब्देन सूचितः स्मरणस्यासर्वथाभावं वा शब्दः स्फुटयति ।

His position regarding the remembrance at the time of death is summarily stated in the following lines:—

तेनेत्थमत्र पदसंगतिः सदा यं यं भावं स्मरन् कलेवरं त्यजति अन्तेऽपि वा स्मरन् वा ग्रहणात् स्मरन् वा तं तमेवैति अतोऽसौ सदा तद्भावेन भावितः

The Vedic Śruti "ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति" does not support this position. Hence it cannot be supposed to be even in the mind of Abhinava in this context.

There are two meanings which are ordinarily found attributed to this Śruti.

(I) That after the knowledge (realisation?) of the Brahman, there remains nothing to be done for the attainment of the final emancipation; this meaning is attributed to it by Śaṅkarācārya himself in the following words in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra.

तत्तु समन्वयात् ।

1-1-4.

It runs as follows:—

अपि च ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति इत्येवमाद्याः श्रुतयो ब्रह्मविद्यानन्तरं मोक्षं दर्शयन्त्यो मध्ये कार्यान्तरं वारयन्ति ।

(Śāṅkara Bhāṣya, p. 74.)

and (II) that there is undoubted attainment of the final emancipation after the Brahmajñāna. This meaning is attributed to it by Ānandagiri in his commentary on the verses of the Bhagavadgītā under discussion. It runs as follows:—

ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति इत्यादि श्रुतिमाश्रित्याह—नास्तीति । न्यासेध्यं संशयमेवाभिनयति याति नेति ।

Thus there is no reference to remembrance in the above vedic Śruti. And a Śruti with a particular reference to remembrance is needed in this context.

Further, there is the word "प्रमाणभूत" preceding the word "श्रुति". And it has been shown in the introductory paragraph that the Trika School of Śaiva Philosophy of which Abhinava is the chief exponent, does not recognise the authority of the Veda. Therefore in this context there is no room for the supposition of any other text than that which is accepted to be of respectable authority, by this school.

Furthermore, finding the word Upaniṣad and Śruti used for the non-vedic texts of respectable authority, as shown above, there is no necessity of supposition that "with "अस्ति हि" "तीर्थे" etc., we have the next sentence giving additional authority". There is another reason also against such an interpretation. Abhinava when giving additional authority clearly states that he is doing so by using some such words as "अपि च". Here, however, as if having some such person as doubted the existence of such an authoritative text in his mind and replying to such a person, he affirms the existence of such a text by the words "अस्ति हि"

These are just a few considerations which weighed with me when I said in my Abhinavagupta "as from a Śruti" which has been criticised by Dr Raghavan in his paper on "Abhinavagupta and the Bhāṣya on the Yogasūtras" published in the Annals of Oriental Research, Vol. III, 1938-39, Part II.

As for the tradition in South India among those who dance in accordance with the instructions of Bharata as interpreted by Abhinavagupta, regarding Abhinavagupta being looked upon as an incarnation of Śeṣa, I have to say that it was at Benares that I came to know of this tradition from my learned teacher Śrimān Damodar Lalji Gosvami who is now one of the topmost, if not the topmost, Pandits of Benares, and who has been interested in Abhinavagupta for the last fifty years. He will, I hope, corroborate my statement, if he is referred to. I mentioned this tradition in my work after I was told of its existence by some people in South India also whose names it is difficult for me to recollect now.

Abhinavagupta was very popular in South India and traditions had been woven round about him. At least one of the traditions that he was an incarnation of Paramaśiva I have found recorded by a writer, probably a South Indian, who has com-

mented upon Abhinava's Īśvara Pratyabhijñā Vimarśinī. A Ms. of this commentary was discovered in the library of Manaveda Arjuna Raja Pudu Kovilakam, Calicut and got transcribed in 1923-24 by the authorities of the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras which I also got transcribed in 1934 under the kind supervision of Prof. P.P.S. Sastri of the Madras University. The Ms. on the very first page runs as follows:—

इह विश्वानुजिघृक्षापरः परमशिव एव सकलभूमण्डलोत्तरे श्रीमच्छारदादि-दिव्यक्रीडासदने श्रीकाश्मीरदेशे श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तसहधर्मिण्यां श्रीमत्यां विमलाया-मवतीर्य श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तनाथ इति प्रख्याताभिधानः ।

PHONETIC CHANGES IN TAMIL WORDS BORROWED FORM CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

BY

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As the inevitable result of the study of books written in Sanskrit in literature, philosophy, the arts and the sciences, Tamil writers have freely borrowed Sanskrit words when they compose works of their own on similar subjects. It is true that there are already Tamil equivalents for many of these words. But the borrowing is necessary in many instances for want of corresponding words in Tamil. There is no doubt that the contact of the two cultures has led to an enrichment of the resources of the Tamil language as a medium of expression.

Since the Tamil alphabet does not contain a number of letters found in Sanskrit, it becomes necessary to modify the borrowed words to suit the Tamil script. Even when there are corresponding sounds and letters, the loan words from Sanskrit are often modified to fit in with the phonetic system of the Tamil language. Sometimes Sanskrit words are used by Tamil writers without any change of sound or letter. Often they are modified. The same author sometimes uses a borrowed word without modifying it and, at other times in the same book, uses it in a modified form. The authors of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Nan̲n̲ūl* have briefly indicated a few of these sound changes undergone by Sanskrit words in the writings of Tamil authors.

The author of *Nan̲n̲ūl* is more elaborate than *Tolkāppiyan̲ār* and has given a fairly full account of the changes undergone by consonants when Sanskrit words are borrowed in Tamil. Of the changes of Sanskrit vowels in similar circumstances, his treatment is meagre and is confined only to a few broad and well-known generalizations. The object of this article is to make a fuller study of the changes of vowels made in Sanskrit words when they are imported into Tamil. The word *Nan̲n̲ūl* is given in brackets in all cases where the phonetic change has already been

pointed out by the author of that book. It will be seen from what follows that I am confining myself to loan-words from classical Sanskrit of which alone I have some knowledge.

N.B. The scheme of transliteration of Tamil words into English followed in this article is that of the editors of the Tamil Lexicon published by the University of Madras. That for Sanskrit is given below:—

Vowels. अ=a; आ=ā, as in Kālidāsa; इ=i, as in Indra; ई=ī, as in Īśvara; उ=u, as in Uttara; ऊ=ū, as in Mūka; ऋ=ṛ, as in Kṛṣṇa; ए=ē, as in Mēnakā; ओ=ō, as in Gōtra; औ=au, as in Mauni.

Consonants. क् k; ख् kh; ग् g; घ् gh; ङ् ṅ
च् c; छ् ch; ज् j; झ् jh; ञ् ñ
ट् ṭ; ठ् ṭh; ड् ḍ; ढ् ḍh; ण् ṇ
त् t; थ् th; द् d; ध् dh; न् n
प् p; फ् ph; ब् b; भ् bh; म् m
य् y; र् r; ल् l; व् v
श्=ś
ष्=ṣ
स=s
ह्=ḥ=visarga(:)

I

SANSKRIT VOWELS.

Sanskrit अ (*a*).

1. The vowel अ in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word usually remains unchanged:—

eg.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	जलधि jaladhi	சலதி calati
	अग्नि agni	அக்கினி akkiṉi
	हय haya	அயம் ayam
	रव rava	அரவம் aravam

2. अ (*a*) in the first syllable is sometimes changed to எ (*e*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	गति gati	கெதி keti
	बहु bahu	வெகு veku

गज gaja	கெசம் kecam
दशा daśā	தெசை tecai
जमदग्नि jamadagni	செமதக்கினி cematakkini

3. अ (*a*) in the first syllable when followed by ह् (*h*) or a conjunct consonant is often lengthened to ஆ (*ā*) in Tamil, the succeeding syllable being dropped.

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
अहङ्कार ahaṅkāra	ஆங்காரம் āṅkāram
कञ्चुक kañcuka	காஞ்சுகம் kāñcukam
गर्दभ gardabha	கார்த்தபம் kārttapam
अङ्गिरस् aṅgiras	ஆங்கிரன் āṅkiraṉ
महाजन mahājana	மாசனம் mācaṉam
सहवास sahavāsa	சாவாசம் cāvācam
सहदेव sahadēva	சாதேவன் cādēvaṉ
चन्दन candana	சாந்து cāntu
सहस्र sahasra	ஆயிரம் āyiram (for the dropping of initial *s* in Tamil, other examples will be given later.
रहस्य rahasya	இராசியம் irāciyam

4. अ (*a*) in the first syllable of Sanskrit words is, in a few instances, changed to இ (*i*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
कषाय kaṣāya	கியாழம் kiyāḻam
कडार kaḍāra	கிடாரம் kiṭāram

5. Sometimes this अ is dropped:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
अकिंचन akiñcana	கிஞ்சனன் kiñcaṉaṉ
अनूप anūpa	நூபம் nūpam (ox)

6. अ (*a*) occurring in the middle of a Sanskrit word is sometimes changed to இ (*i*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
मण्डल maṇḍala	மண்டிலம் maṇṭilam
अरोचक arōcaka	அரோசிகம் arōcikam

पाटली pāṭalī	பாதிரி pātiri
धानक dhānaka	தானிகம் tāṉikam
पठन paṭhana	படினம் paṭiṉam
पिप्पल pippala	திப்பிலி tippili

7. Medial अ (*a*) sometimes changes also into उ (*u*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
अरुन्धती Arundhatī	அருந்துதி aruntuti
गौतम Gautama	கௌதுமன் kautumaṉ

The change in these cases is due to the influence of the vowels that precede or follow.

8. Medial अ (*a*) is sometimes lengthened into आ (*ā*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
किन्नर kinnara	கிண்ணாரம் kiṇṇāram
पञ्जर pañjara	பஞ்சாரம் pañcāram
संघट्ट saṅghaṭṭa	சங்காட்டம் caṅkāṭṭam
पट paṭa	படாம் paṭām

9. Final अ (*a*) in Sanskrit is often changed to ஐ (*ai*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
तात tāta	தாதை tātai
आर āra	ஆரை ārai
रसुन rasuna	இராசனை irācaṉai
छन्दस् chandas	சந்தை cantai (சொல்லுதல்)
चीर cīra	சீரை cīrai
पटल paṭala	படலை paṭalai
वृष vṛṣa	விடை viṭai
गुम्फ gumpha	குப்பை kuppai
शाण śāṇa	சாணை cāṇai
चेल cēla	சேலை cēlai

10. Final अ (*a*) in Sanskrit, especially in neuter nouns, is very often changed to उ (*u*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
दैव daiva	தேவு tēvu
रूप rūpa	உருவு uruvu
भेद bhēda	பேது pētu
स्फटिक sphaṭika	பளிங்கு paḷiṅku (initial स is dropped)
क्रमुक kramuka	கமுகு kamuku
मुरज muraja	முரசு muracu
मन्थ mantha	மத்து mattu
अक्ष akṣa	அச்சு accu
सार sāra	சாறு cāṟu
पित्त pitta	பித்து pittu
अमृत amṛta	அமுது amutu
दण्ड daṇḍa	தண்டு taṇṭu
द्वीप dvīpa	தீவு tīvu
शङ्ख śaṅkha	சங்கு caṅku
लोक lōka	உலகு ulaku
लक्ष्य lakṣya	இலக்கு ilakku
समर्थ samartha	சமத்து camattu
भ्रान्त bhrānta	பிராந்து pirāntu
सुलभ sulabha (Pkt सुलह sulaha)	சுளுகு cuḷuku
सार्थ sārtha	சாத்து cāttu
बिरुद biruda	விருது virutu

11. Final अ (*a*) in a Sanskrit word is sometimes changed to இ (*i*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
आचार्य ācārya	ஆசாரி ācāri
भुवन bhuvana	புவனி puvaṉi
लशुन laśuna	இலைசுனி ilaicuṉi
मुञ्ज muñja	முஞ்சி muñci
द्रोण drōṇa	தூணி tūṇi

व्याल vyāla	யாளி yāḷi
पाटल pāṭala	பாதிரி pātiri
चतुर catura	சதிரி catiri

12. Final अ (*a*) in Sanskrit words is often dropped in Tamil when it is immediately preceded by the consonants ल् (*l*) र् (*r*) न् (*n*) ण् (*ṇ*).

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
नगर nagara	நகர் nakar
कुलाल kulāla	குலால் kulāl
समर samara	அமர் amar (the initial स् being also dropped)
स्थूण sthūṇa	தூண் tūṇ Do.
अनल anala	அனல் anal
कपाल kapāla	கபால் kapāl
मुकुल mukula	முகிழ் mukiḻ
पूर pūra	பூர் (வெள்ளம்) pūr
बधिर badhira	வெதிர் vetir
उशीर uśīra	உயிர் uyir
वाल vāla	வால் vāl
नितल nitala	நுதல் nutal
कपोल kapōla	கவுள் kavuḷ
अखिल akhila	அகில் akil

13. अ followed by य् (*y*) in Sanskrit words is often changed into ஐ (*ai*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
पयस् payas	பைசு (milk) paiśu
विनय vinaya	வினையம் vinaiyam
विषय viṣaya	விடையம் viṭaiyam

The vowel आ (*ā*).

1. आ (*ā*) in Sanskrit words, initial, medial or final, is often shortened to அ (*a*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
कुमार kumāra	குமரன் kumaran
पातक pātaka	பதகன் patakan

पाताल pātāla	பாதலம் pātalam
प्रवाल pravāla	பவழம் paval̲am
राजा rājā	அரசன் aracan̲
स्वरावली svarāvalī	சரளி caraḷi
जानकी jānakī	சனகி can̲aki
काञ्ची kāñcī	கஞ்சி kañci
कलाप kalāpa	கலவம் kalavam
स्थाली sthālī	தகளி or தகழி takaḷi, takal̲i
ताम्बूल tāmbūla	தம்பல் tampal
नाल nāla	நளம் naḷam
माद्री mādrī	மத்திரை mattirai
भाण्डार bhāṇḍāra	பண்டாரம் paṇṭāram
पातकी pātakī	பதகி pataki
काष्ठ kāṣṭha (Pkt. कट्ट kaṭṭa)	கட்டை kaṭṭai

2. Initial आ in Sanskrit words is sometimes dropped when the word is taken into Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
आकाश ākāśa	காயம் kāyam
आगाम्य āgāmya	காம்யம் kāmyam

3. Final आ (*ā*) is always changed to ஐ (*ai*) in Tamil and is therefore one of the changes pointed out by Tamil grammarians (Nan̲n̲ūl).

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
आशा āśā	ஆசை ācai
शाला śālā	சாலை cālai
तनया tanayā	தனயை tan̲ayai
शिबिका śibikā	சிவிகை civikai
सेना sēnā	சேனை cēn̲ai
अमात्य (अमा) amātya	அமைச்சர் amaiccar
पीडा pīḍā	பீழை pīl̲ai
रम्भा rambhā	அரம்பை arampai
सभा sabhā	அவை avai (initial *s* being also dropped)

विद्या vidyā	விஞ்சை viñcai
कथा kathā	கதை katai
योजना yōjanā	ஓசனை ōcaṉai

4. Final आ (ā), when preceded by a conjunct consonant of which the second member is य् (y), is changed into இ (i) in Tamil, the य् (y) being dropped.

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
कन्या kanyā	கன்னி kaṉṉi
अयोध्या ayōdhyā	அயோத்தி ayōtti
उपाध्याय upādhyāya	வாத்தியார் vāttiyār
वेश्या vēśyā	வேசி vēci
भार्या bhāryā	பாரி pāri
सन्ध्या sandhyā	சந்தி canti
(सन्धि) Sandhi	அந்தி anti (the initial s being dropped)
अहल्या ahalyā	அகலி akali
कक्ष्या kakṣyā	கட்சி kaṭci
हत्या hatyā	அத்தி atti

The vowel इ (*i*).

The vowel इ (*i*) often undergoes no change.

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
मुक्ति mukti	முத்தி mutti
तिलक tilaka	திலகம் tilakam
जलधि jaladhi	சலதி calati
अभिनय abhinaya	அபிநயம் apinayam
अग्नि agni	அக்கினி akkiṉi

1. The vowel इ coming at the end of the first syllable of a Sanskrit word is sometimes lengthened into ஈ (ī) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
कितव kitava	கீதவம் kītavam
विपणि vipaṇi	வீபணி vīpaṇi

	सितक sitaka	சீதகன் (Venus) cītakaṉ
	निभ nibha	நீபம் (reason) nīpam
	विहित vihita	வீதம் vītam

2. When इ (*i*) is followed by a conjunct consonant, it is often lengthened to ஈ (ī) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	शिष्य śiṣya	சீடன் cīṭaṉ
	हिंसा hiṁsā	ஈங்கிசை īṅkicai ஈஞ்சை īñcai
	उद्भिज्जा udbhijjā	உற்பீசம் uṟpīcam

3. Medial इ (*i*) is often changed to அ (*a*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	रोहिणी rōhiṇī	உரோகணி urōkaṇi
	सपिण्डी sapiṇḍī	சவண்டி cavaṇṭi
	सन्निधि sannidhi	சன்னதி caṉṉati
	दक्षिणा dakṣiṇā	தக்கணை takkaṇai
	दक्षिण dakṣiṇa	தக்கணம் takkaṇam
	नन्दिनी nandinī	நந்தனி nantaṉi
	पाट्टिका paṭṭikā	பட்டயம் paṭṭayam

4. So also इ (*i*) whether it be initial, medial or final, is sometimes changed to உ (*u*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	निटिल niṭila	நுதல் nutal
	अरिष्ट ariṣṭa	அருட்டம் aruṭṭam
	हरिण hariṇa	அருணம் aruṇam
	सिद्धि siddhi	சித்து cittu
	पिण्याक piṇyāka	புண்ணாக்கு puṇṇākku
	सिन्दूर sindūra	சுந்தரம் cundaram

5. When इ (*i*) is followed by य् (*y*) it is often changed to எ (*ē*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	नियति niyati	நேதி nēti
	नियामक niyāmaka	நேமகம் nēmakam
	नियम niyama	நேமம் nēmam
	तिथि tithi	தேதி tēti

6. Sometimes इ in the first syllable of Sanskrit words is changed to எ (*e*) in Tamil :—

eg.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	निष्ठुरा niṣṭhurā	நெட்டூரம் neṭṭūram
	सिन्दूर sindūra	செந்தூரம் centūram
	निधि nidhi	நெதி neti

The vowel ई (*ī*).

1. ई in Sanskrit words, medial or final is invariably shortened in Tamil (Naṉṉūl).

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
(*a*)	भागीरथी bhāgīrathī	பகிரதி pakirati
	भगीरथ bhagīratha	பகிரதன் pakirataṉ
	महीतल mahītala	மகிதலம் makitalam
	पुनीत punīta	புனிதம் puṉitam
	अनीक anīka	அனிகம் aṉikam
	पाटीर pāṭīra	பாடிரம் pāṭiram
	उत्तरीय uttarīya	உத்தரிகம் uttarikam
	उदासीन udāsīna	உதாசினம் utāciṉam
	खलीन khalīna	கலினம் kaliṉam
(*b*)	नदी nadī	நதி nati (Naṉṉūl)
	वीथी vīthī	வீதி vīti
	धरणी dharaṇī	தரணி taraṇi
	चेटी cēṭī	சேடி cēṭi
	दासी dāsī	தாதி tāti

पत्नी patnī	பன்னி panni பத்தினி pattini
वल्ली vallī	வள்ளி vaḷḷi வல்லி valli
तुलसी tulasī	துளவி tuḷavi
गोष्ठी gōṣṭhī	கோட்டி kōṭṭi
सूची sūcī	ஊசி ūci (the initial s being, as usual, dropped in Tamil).

2. Medial ई (ī) is sometimes changed to அ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
खलीन khalīna	கலனை kalanai
कौपीन kaupīna	கோவணம் kōvaṇam

The vowel उ (*u*).

उ (*u*) initial, medial, or final, rarely undergoes change.

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
गुरु guru	குரு kuru
कुमार kumāra	குமாரன் kumāran
चतुष्क catuṣka	சதுக்கம் catukkam
विष्णु viṣṇu	விட்டுணு viṭṭuṇu
मधु madhu	மது matu
उमा umā	உமை umai

1. But when the vowel उ (*u*) is followed by a conjunct consonant, it is sometimes lengthened in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
कुन्तल kuntala	கூந்தல் kūntal
कुद्दाल kuddāla	கூந்தாலி kūntāli
पुष्य puṣya	பூசம் pūcam
उन्मत्त unmatta	ஊமத்தை ūmattai

2. So also when उ is followed by a syllable ending in a long vowel it is lengthened:—

e.g.

Skt.	*Tam.*
उदार udāra	ஊதாரி ūdāri
उदीची udīcī	ஊசி ūci

3. Medial उ (*u*) in Sanskrit is often changed to இ (*i*) in Tamil in the same way as medial इ (*i*) is changed to உ (*u*).

e.g.

Skt.	*Tam.*
चतुरश्र caturaśra	சதிரம் catiram
आतुर ātura	ஆத்திரம் āttiram
मानुष mānuṣa	மானிடன் māṉiṭaṉ
तुमुल tumula	{ திமில் timil திமிலம் timilam
पुरुष puruṣa	புரிசம் puricam
चतुर catura	சதிரி catiri

4. उ (*u*) (medial or final) is sometimes changed to अ (*a*) in Tamil:—

e.g.

Skt.	*Tam.*
कुक्कुर kukkura	குக்கர் kukkar
कमण्डलु kamaṇḍalu	கமண்டலம் kamaṇṭalam
कुस्तुम्बरी kustumbarī	உத்தம்பரி uttampari

5. उ (*u*) coming in the first syllable of Sanskrit word is often changed to ஒ (*o*) in Tamil:—

e.g.

Skt.	*Tam.*
कुत्सा kutsā	கொச்சை koccai
कुठार kuṭhāra	கொடரி koṭari
कुस्तुम्बरी kustumbarī	கொத்தமரி kottamari
तुन्दी tundī	தொந்தி tonti
पुष्करिणी puṣkariṇī (Pkt. पोक्करिणि pokkariṇi)	பொக்கரிணி pokkariṇi
मुकुल mukula	மொக்குள் mokkuḷ
पुस्तक pustaka	பொத்தகம் pottakam
कुन्तल kuntala	கொந்தளம் kontaḷam

6. The उ (*u*) of the first syllable is sometimes changed also to ஓ (*ō*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
मुखर mukhara	மோகரம் mōkaram
कुठार kuṭhāra	கோடாரி kōṭāri
उपाधि upādhi	ஓபாதி ōpādhi
उपजीवन upajīvana	ஓசீவனம் ōcīvanam

The vowel ऊ.

There are many instances of ऊ (*ū*) in Sanskrit words remaining unchanged in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
तूणीर tūṇīra	தூணி tūṇi
धूप dhūpa	தூபம் tūpam
यूथ yūtha	ஊதம் ūtam
मूढ mūḍha	மூடன் mūṭan

1. It may be stated as a general rule that, when ऊ (*ū*) is modified, it is shortened, be it initial, medial or final:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
a. रूप rūpa	உருவம் uruvam
रूपक rūpaka	உருவகம் uruvakam
चूर्ण cūrṇa	சுண்ணம் cuṇṇam
तूल tūla	துலம் tūlam
धूम्र dhūmra	துமிரம் tumiram
तूलिका tūlikā	துகிலிகை tukilikai
b. सिन्दूर sindūra	சிந்துரம் cinturam
कर्पूर karpūra	கப்புரம் kappuram
स्वरूप svarūpa	சுருவம் curuvam
समूह samūha	சமுகம் camukam
असूया asūyā	அசுயை acuyai
c. सरयू sarayū	சரயு carayu
जम्बू jambū	சம்பு campu
चमू camū	சமு camu

The vowel ऋ (*ṛ*).

The Sanskrit vowel ऋ (*ṛ*) has no counterpart in the Tamil alphabet, and Sanskrit words having this vowel have necessarily to be modified in the process of borrowing. The author of *Naṉṉūl* has referred to two kinds of change undergone by this vowel in Tamil. They are indicated below:—

1. Initial ऋ (*ṛ*) is changed to ரு (*ru*). As the phonetic system of Tamil requires the precedence of இ (*i*) before ரு (*ru*), it may be said that initial ऋ is changed to இரு (*iru*) in Tamil (Naṉṉūl):—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
ऋषि ṛṣi	இருடி iruṭi
ऋण ṛṇa	இருணம் iruṇam
ऋतु ṛtu	இருது irutu

2. In words like ऋषभ (ṛṣabha) and हृदय (hṛdaya) the ரு (*ru*) is dropped and the இ (*i*) alone remains (Naṉṉūl):—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
ऋषभ ṛṣabha	இடபம் iṭapam
हृदय hṛdaya	இதயம் itayam
कृतयुग kṛtayuga	கிதயுகம் kitayukam
वृषली vṛṣalī	விடலி viṭali
वृत्तं vṛttam	வித்தம் vittam
शृङ्गार śṛṅgāra	சிங்காரம் ciṅkāram
वृषण vṛṣaṇa	விடணம் viṭaṇam
वृष vṛṣa	விடை viṭai
दृढ dṛḍha	திடம் tiṭam

3. Medial ऋ (*ṛ*) is also commonly changed to இரு (*iru*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
प्रकृति prakṛti	பிரகிருதி pirakiruti
अमृत amṛta	அமிருதம் amirutam
कृष्ण kṛṣṇa	கிருட்டிணன் kiruṭṭiṇaṉ

4. Initial and medial ऋ (ṛ) is also sometimes changed to அ (*a*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	ऋण ṛṇa	ரணம் raṇam
	प्रकृति prakṛti (Pkt. पगडि pagaḍi)	பகடி pakaṭi
	प्राकृत् prākṛt	பாகதம் pakatam
	शृङ्खला śṛṅkhalā	சங்கிலி caṅkili
	संस्कृत saṁskṛta	சங்கதம் caṅkatam
	वृत्त vṛtta (Pkt वट्ट vaṭṭa)	வட்டம் vaṭṭam
	वृद्धि vṛddhi	வட்டி vaṭṭi

5. Medial ऋ (ṛ) is occasionally changed also to உ (*u*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	विकृति vikṛti	விகுதி vikuti
	प्रकृति prakṛti	பகுதி pakuti

6. Final ऋ (ṛ) is changed to இரி (*iri*) in Tamil—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	होतृ hotṛ	ஓத்திரி ōttiri

The vowel ए (*ē*).

Initial ए (*ē*) in Sanskrit words rarely undergoes change:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	वेद vēda	வேதம் vētam
	मेघ mēgha	மேகம் mēkam
	तेजस् tējas	தேசு tēcu
	चेटी cēṭī	சேடி cēṭi

1. But in some words, the ए (*ē*) of even the first syllable is seen shortened in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	सेवती sēvatī	செவந்தி cevanti

पेटी pēṭī	பெட்டி peṭṭi (the following consonant being doubled).
वेगा vēgā	வெகா (the river Vēgavatī vekā).
चेट cēṭa	செடன் ceṭaṉ
प्रेत prēta	பிரேதம் piretam

2. There are a few instances of medial ए (ē) being changed to அ (a) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
संदेह sandēha	சந்தயம் candayam
प्रेत prēta	பிரதம் piratam

The vowel ऐ (*ai*).

1. ऐ (*ai*) in Sanskrit words initial or medial, is usually changed to அயி (*ayi*) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
शैल śaila	சயிலம் cayilam
ऐरावत airāvata	அயிராவதம் ayirāvatam
उच्चैश्रवस् uccaiśśravas	உச்சயிச்சிரவம் uccayicciravam.

2. Sometimes Sanskrit ऐ (*ai*) is changed to எய் (*ey*) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
दैव daiva	தெய்வம் teyvam

3. There are instances also of ऐ (*ai*) in Sanskrit being changed to इ (*i*) in Tamil:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
नैर्ऋत nairṛta	நிருதர் nirutar

4. ऐ before voiceless stops is usually unchanged:—

e.g. Skt.	Tam.
वैकुण्ठ vaikuṇṭha	வைகுந்தம் vaikuntam

5. ऐ (*i*) in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word is often changed to எ (ē) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	ऐन्द्र aindra	எந்திரம் ēntiram
	दैवं daivam	தேவு tēvu
	चैत्य caitya	சேதியம் cētiyam

The vowel ओ (*ō*).

1. ओ (*ō*) in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word remains, in general, unchanged:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	गोल gōla	கோளம் kōḷam
	ओषधि ōṣadhi	ஓடதி ōṭati
	लोभ lōbha	உலோபம் ulōpam
	योजना yojanā	ஓசனை ōcaṉai

2. But ओ (*ō*) occurring before a conjunct consonant is often shortened to ஒ (*o*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	गोष्ठक gōṣṭhaka	கொட்டகம் koṭṭakam
	ओढ्र ōḍhra	ஒட்டரம் oṭṭaram
	गोष्ठी gōṣṭhī	கொட்டி koṭṭi
	गोष्ठ gōṣṭha	கொட்டில் koṭṭil

3. ओ (*ō*) coming after the consonant ल् (*l*) is often changed to அ (*a*) in Tamil:—

e.g.	*Skt.*	*Tam.*
	लोक lōka	உலகம் ulakam
	लोकायत lōkāyata	உலகாயதம் ulakāyatam
	लोभ lōbha	உலவம் ulavam

4. ओ (ō), initial or medial, is sometimes changed to उ or ஊ (*u* or *ū*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
कठोर kaṭhōra	கடூரம் kaṭūram
गोलोमि gōlōmi	குலோமி kulōmi
कपोल kapōla	கவுள் kavuḷ

The *vowel* औ (*au*).

1. औ (*au*) in the first syllable of a Sanskrit word is usually changed to ஓ (*ō*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
गौतम gautama	கோதமன் gōtamaṉ
कौशिक kauśika	கோசிகன் kōcikaṉ
मौनी maunī	மோகினி mōkiṉi
कौपीन kaupīna	கோவணம் kōvaṇam
तौर्य taurya	தோரியம் tōriyam

2. Equally common is the change of Sanskrit औ (*au*) to அவு (*avu*) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
औषध auṣadha	அவுடதம் avuṭatam
मौली maulī	மவுலி mavuli
कौसल्या kausalyā	கவுசலை kavucalai
शौरि śauri	சவுரி cavuri
नौः nauḥ	நவ்வு navvu
श्रौती śrautī	சவுதி cavuti

3. औ coming after the consonant ल् (*l*) is changed into அ (*a*) (cf. ओ after ल् before) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
लौकिक laukika	உலகிகம் ulakikam

4. औ in the first or other syllables is sometimes changed to ऊ (ஊ) in Tamil:—

e.g. *Skt.*	*Tam.*
भौम bhauma	பூமன் (Mars) būmaṉ
सार्वभौम sārvabhauma	சார்வபூமன் cārvapūmaṉ

A NEW SANSKRIT WORK OF KṚṢṆADEVARĀYA

BY

V. PRABHAKARA SASTRI.

(Govt. Oriental Mss. Library Madras)

Kṛṣṇadevarāya states in his Āmuktamālyadā that he composed some works in Sanskrit, *viz.*, Madālasācarita, Jñānacintāmaṇi, Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha, Satyāvadhūprīṇana and Rasamañjarī. Some verses from the Rasamañjarī and Satyāvadhūprīṇana are cited in the Sanskrit anthological work called the Prapañcadarpaṇa,[1] in which, however, these works are attributed not to Kṛṣṇarāya himself, but to his poet laureate Allasāni Peddana. It may, however, be noted that, like other anthologies, this Prapañcadarpaṇa also shows a good deal of confusion regarding the authorship of works cited in it.

A play ascribed to Kṛṣṇarāya, called the Jāmbavatīkalyāṇa not mentioned in the Āmuktamālyadā, is found in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore. A part of the prastāvanā in this play is lost. But what remains of the prastāvanā and the colophon makes it clear that Kṛṣṇarāya is the author of the work.

शेषक्ष्माधरनायकस्य कृपया सप्तार्णवीमध्यगां

रक्षन् गामिह कृष्णरायनृपतिर्जीयात्सहस्रं समाः ।

A new Sanskrit work of Kṛṣṇarāya has been recently discovered in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. The Ms. is a fragment containing only the introductory portion of the work. The names of the work and the author cannot be distinctly made out, but from the verses that are preserved, there can be no doubt that the work was written by Kṛṣṇadevarāya. From the drift of the verses we can make out the name of the work as the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha. In the Āmuktamālyadā it is said that Kṛṣṇadevarāya culled out stories from Śruti, Purāṇa, Upapurāṇa and Saṁhitā and composed the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha. The Ms. mentioned above answers this description. Therefore I have identified it as the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha.

1. A Ms. of this work was acquired near the border of Orissa for the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library.

Kṛṣṇarāya states that he undertook to write this work at the command of his Guru Vyāsa Tīrtha. Vyāsarāya is said to have been a Guru of Kṛṣṇadevarāya according to Mādhva literary tradition; but no exact reference to this fact is found in any known historical work. It is noteworthy that this fact is explicitly mentioned in this work composed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself. The poet Ayyalarāzu Rāmabhadra began to compose in Telugu at the instance of Kṛṣṇadevarāya a big Vaiṣṇavite Prabandha cal ed Sakalakathāsārasaṅgrahamu, to be dedicated to the king, but owing probably to the unexpected death of the Rāya, the work was not completed. This unfinished work is available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. It can be inferred that this Telugu compilation of Rāmbhadra is an adaptation of the Rāya's Sanskrit work of the same name, mentioned in the Āmuktamālyadā, and written by the Rāya at the instance of Vyāsarāya as is known from the available fragmentary Ms. There seems to be a similar connection between the Sanskrit Satyāvadhūprīṇana of Kṛṣṇarāya and the Telugu Pārijātāpaharaṇa of Nandi Timmanna, both of which deal with the same story. Though the Sanskrit original is not available, its Telugu adaptation is available.

Extracts from the Madras Ms. of the Sakalakathāsārasaṅgraha of Kṛṣṇarāya.

स बुक्कमाम्बां परिणीय तस्या-
मौदार्यगाम्भीर्यविवेकशौर्यैः ।
दाक्षिण्यकारुण्यनयैश्च युक्तं
लेभे तनूजं नरसक्षितीशम् ॥

स बाल एवावनिमर्णवान्ता-
मत्यर्थ(?)शौर्येण निरङ्कुशेन ।
मान्धातृमुख्यान् महितान् महीपान्
यशोविशेषैरखिलानजैषीत् ॥

बाह्वोर्बलेनार्जितवित्तजातैः
कृतार्थयित्वाखिलमर्थिसार्थम् ।
काशीप्रयागादिमहार्हतीर्थे
महान्ति दानानि मुहुश्चकार ॥

कुलेन शीलेन गुणेन भक्त्या
प्रेम्णानुकूल्येन च संयुतायाम् ।
नागाम्बिकायां नरसक्षितीशः
प्रासूत मां न्यक्कृतवैरिवर्गः ॥

सोऽहं सुतं श्लाघ्यगुणान्वितायां
तिम्माम्बिकायामिह तिम्मभूयम् ।
उत्पाद्य नामास्य सहार्थजातैः
समार्पयं वेङ्कटशैलभर्त्रे ॥

एवं च चेतस्यनवाप्य तृप्तिं
वाचापि पूजां कलये कथं वा ।
श्रीवेङ्कटाधीशितुरित्युदारं
चित्ते विचारं कलयन्नवात्सम् ॥

उत्साहं मम वीक्ष्य मद्गुरुरथ श्रीव्यासतीर्थो मुनिः
पर्यालोच्य पुराणशास्त्रविविधाम्नायेतिहासादिकान् ।
लब्धास्तत्र कथा हरेः पशुपतेः साम्यं निरूप्या(निरस्या)धिकं
विष्णुं कीर्तय सर्वथेत्युपदिशन् मह्यं मुदा दत्तवान् ॥

ANCIENT TAMILIAN WARFARE[1]

BY

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The fighting instinct is always inherent in brutes as well as human beings. Many take to the offensive and many others have to fight purely in self-defence. The bigger fish swallow the small ones and the latter make short work of still smaller ones. 'Might is right' and, 'Balī rājā pṛthvyaḥ' are very familiar sayings. The stronger man subdues the weak only to be overcome in his turn by a still stronger man (Matsya-Nyāya). The former held his sway undisputed while the weaker went to the wall. Wildest and the most dastardly acts of murder were perpetrated in those days.

What then is the reason for these rude acts? Extreme selfishness and want of consideration for one's neighbour were at the root of all these. These crude sentiments caused incessant struggles in communities. Whenever two people aim at a common object and both are equally obstinate in securing it, we have what is called a rival attitude. Strong desire or passion begets wrath which naturally brings on an open conflict.

These conflicts are sometimes petty and insignificant, but they loom large in the eyes of the public, when the parties involved in them are men of rank or distinction. Thus, when we speak of war we are reminded not of petty scuffles but some military action of greater import and with more serious consequences.

Mr. Potter in his recent book on "The world of Nations' writes as follows:—

"War consists of general military action taken by one Government against another Government by land or sea, or in

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1. The writer is greatly indebted to Mahāvidvāṉ R. Raghava Aiyangar and Professor Chikka Srinivasachariar of the Annamalai University for valuable suggestions while writing this article.

the air also in these latter years. It is not merely piracy or riot or rebellion or revolution; but war consists in general international hostilities with general objectives, not the special limited types of military action recently more familiar in the world." In discussing the causes of war he continues as follows:—

"No complete survey has ever been made of the causes of war. Desire for territory, either for its mineral or other wealth or population or for its value, desire for independence from imperialistic domination, commercial rivalry, these are causes which have led to war in modern times. Dynastic rivalries and religious differences were among the important causes of war in earlier times."

This art of warfare was an important subject of discussion in ancient Tamil works. *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant Tamil grammar, and Tirukkuṟaḷ, one of the earliest of Tamil classics, embody in them considerable information regarding war. While grammars in general confine themselves to orthography, Etymology and Syntax, books on Tamil grammar deal with Sociology, some aspects of Biology, Psychology, Politics etc. Kingship and war are discussed threadbare and we have very rich and valuable informtaion unfolded to us in its pages.

The causes of war mentioned by them are manifold. In the first place, craving for power and desire for the expansion of territory must be mentioned. The following lines from Puṟanāṉūṟu[1], one of the eight anthologies or collections of the Sangam period will bear out this statement.

The author tells us here that Cēralātaṉ who never fails to secure victory over his enemy's forces, desires to have his adversaries at his beck and call and feeling that the region under his sway is very small, wants to expand the same with intent to be the sole and undisputed enjoyer of his dominions and that he will not brook to be told that a certain region belongs both to him and to some others. Desire for territorial expansion to provide for the surplus population of the state by the acquisition of

1. "வையங் காவலர் வழிமொழிந் தொழுகப்
போகம் வேண்டிப் பொதுச்சொற் பொறாஅன்
இடஞ்சிறி தென்னு மூக்கஞ் துரப்ப
ஒடுங்கா வுள்ளத் தோம்பா வீகைக்
கடந்தடு தானைச் சேர லாதனை

(புறம். 8.)

colonies abroad by open hostilities, if it is not to be had by peaceful persuasion, is seen in almost all the nations in the present day. Italy and Germany are instances in point. Many other passages from old Tamil works can be cited to illustrate this particular cause of war. In Kalittokai (68) we have the line

"பொதுமொழி பிறர்க்கின்றி முழுதாளுஞ் செல்வர்க்கு"[1]

and in Puranāṉūṟu (51) the line

"தண்டமிழ் பொதுவெனப் பொறாஅன்போ ரெதிர்ந்து[2]".

In the same work a poet says, "It is nothing new for one man to defeat another and in turn to be defeated by him; it is in the very nature of human beings[3]".

The next cause and the most important and ennobling one is perhaps the love of fame. Almost all kings and petty chiefs have been actuated by this dignified notion and the descriptions of fights carried on by such heroes are really very interesting. In Puṟam (18) a poet sings[4], "Having won the broad world by your own strenuous efforts and having planted firm your undying fame"; and again in the same stanza, "If you intend to stand unequalled as the sole and undisputed master of your realms or wish to establish your reputation[5]."

The lines "with an ardent love to hunt after fame you prefer to be always in fighting camps[6], and "Having won over the

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1. "To those affluent kings with full sovereignty shared by no other king or kings."

2. Unable to put up with the words that the fertile Tamil land belongs both to him and to some others, he goes to fight."

3. "ஒருவன் ஒருவனை யடுதலுந் தொலைதலும்
புதுவ தன்றிவ் வுலகத் தியற்கை"

(புறம். 76.)

4. "பரந்துபட்ட வியன் ஞாலம்
தாளிற் றந்து தம்புகழ் நிறீஇ"

5. "ஞாலங் காவலர் தோள்வலி முருக்கி
ஒருநீ யாகல் வேண்டினுஞ் சிறந்த
நல்லிசை நிறுத்தல் வேண்டினும்"

6. "நல்லிசை வேட்டம் வேண்டி வெல்போர்ப்
பாசறை யல்லது நீயொல் லாயே"

(புறம். 31.)

extensive world and set up firmly your rising fame[1] to be eulogised by your bards and minstrels," remind us of the love of fame that was embodied in the innermost hearts of these fighting princes. These kings and born fighters were prepared to concede to their enemies the lands and other properties they wrested from them, if they would but pay them tribute and beg of them to be allowed to retain their allowed possessions. So a learned bard sings of his patron thus: "you withhold yourself from punishing or chastising your foes, if they would but crouch under your feet."[2] The lines "However egregious the fault of your foes, you excuse them provided they bow before you and pay you tribute" as well as the lines "If they would only fall at my feet and pray, is it a great thing for me to offer them my kingdom? It is not so. I will give them even my life which I value most."[3] clearly inform us of the nobility and love of power and fame that characterised these sovereigns and chieftains of yore. The following lines of Puranāṉūṟu

> "முரசு கெழு தானை நீவிர்
> மூவரு முற்றினும் பறம்பு கொளற்கரிதே
> ....
> ஆடினிர் பாடினிர் செலினே நாடுங் குன்று மொருங்கீ யும்மே"

are worth quoting in this connection. Kapilar the distinguished Śaṅgam poet, in addressing the three kings Cēra, Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya, who were bent upon besieging the capital of his bosom friend, Pāri, a petty chieftain famed for his extreme and unbounded munificence, sings the above lines. They tell us "Even if you three in full possession of the forces that march to the beat of war-drums, lay siege to it, you cannot take Parambu; but if you would appear before him as women minstrels or bards, he would willingly part with his kingdom in your favour." From

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1. "வியலரும் பண்பின் மாநிலங் கடந்து
புலவ ரேத்த வோங்கு புகழ் நிறீஇ" (பதிற். 2, 10.)

2. "பெரியதப் புநராயினும் பகைவர்
பணிந்து திறைபகரக் கொள்ளுநை யாதலின் (பதிற். 27.)

3. "மெல்லவந்தெ னல்லடி பொருந்தி
யீயென விரக்குவ ராயிற் சீருடை
முரசுகெழு தாயத் தரசோ தஞ்சம்
இன்னுயிராயினுங் கொடுக்குவன்"

(புறம். 14.)

the lines quoted above we clearly see that the capture and subjugation of an enemy's kingdom or whatever belonged to him was not after all the real objective of an invader but only pure and undying martial fame which would outlive him. The extreme consideration for the captured which is expressed by the Tamil word "ஊராண்மை" also suggests the above object of an invading monarch.

The next cause of war is the disparaging talk indulged in by the adversary. Students of Tamil classics and South Indian history are aware of the triumphant march of Ceraṉ Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ, the Cera ruler against the princes Kanaka and Vijaya of Central India, because the two kings spoke of him in derogatory terms. Any refractory king who failed or refused to obey was attacked and subdued. In one of the stanzas of Puṟanāṉūṟu, a splendid repository of ancient ideals social, literary and political, we read of a king speaking in the following terms: "Those princes who swelled with rage and and who spoke ill of me as young"[1] and also "Those valiant fighters who rise uproariously parading as dignified and great, despising me their opponent as young and who are thirsting after the huge spoils of war, in case they win over me."[2] These lines together with the line "Suppressing or subjugating the princes who defy your sovereignty[3], bear out the fact that the kings promptly crushed disobedience and defiance of every kind.

Next, the refusal to give girls in marriage on the demand of kings and chiefs, was yet another cause of war. The Pāṇḍya fought with Pāri a local chieftain, because the latter refused the hand of his daughter in marriage to him. This kind of refusal and the consequent strife are depicted as a rule in the "Kalambakam' one of the ninety-six varieties of minor prabandhams in Tamil literature. Among the many themes that go to constitute this kind of literary work, we come across one which

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1. "இளைய னிவனென வுளையக் கூறிப்
படுமணி யிரட்டும்........
சிறுசொற் சொல்லிய சினங்கெழு வேந்தரை" (புறம். 72.)

2. "சிலைத் தெழுந்து
விழுமியம் பெரியம் யாமே நம்மிற்
பொருநனு மிளையன் கொண்டியும் பெரிதென
எள்ளி வந்த வம்ப மள்ளர்" (புறம். 78.)

3. "அடங்கா மன்னரை யடக்கும்" (புறம். 200.)

goes by the name of "மறம்". A messenger deputed by his king or chief approaches a marava, a warlike hero of the Tamil land, to negotiate and bring about an alliance between his master and the daughter of the marava chief. The latter with all the traditional pride of the warlike clan of which he is a distinguished descendant refuses the hand of his daughter, sternly rebuking the messenger at the same time. This refusal brings about a conflict.

Not only this. Sometimes the jealousy born of the greatness or fame of an adversary, was also an inducement to wage war. The three kings of Tamiḻakam above referred to plotted against the life of Pāri, merely because the latter who was after all a petty chieftain, acquired very great renown as a benign ruler and munificent giver.

This apart, religious and commercial revialry was also another factor in the hostilities in ancient times. But such wars were very rare and we hear only very occasionally of religious persecutions or massacres undertaken by bigoted rulers.

These, then, are some of the important reasons for war. The Puṟattiṇaiyiyal of *Tolkāppiyam*, *Puṟapporuḷveṇbāmālai* and the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* give us much valuable information respecting the various aspects of warfare in the ancient Tamiḷ land. The king was more or less considered as having a divine right; but though a king, by birthright or choice he was bound by the opinions or wishes of the popular assembly. Autocrats and bad rulers there had been, and we have good many warnings administered to such people by well-meaning bards. The kingship was deemed a sacred institution and the tradition and Śāstras assert that kings were created by Lord Brahmā to remove the turmoil caused by mutual dissensions and establish order and peace. In the oldest Tamil grammars we have a sub-division known as "பூவை நிலை" (Pūvai nilai), which likens the king to Lord Viṣṇu, the protector of this Universe. "The king of Earth is Lord Viṣṇu himself",[1] exclaim the sacred works. His responsibilities were many and various. The sacred Kuṟaḷ deals elaborately with his rights and duties, laying special stress on his army, subjects, wealth, ministers, friends and frontier-guards, the six indispensable aṅgas (limbs) of the body-politic. The Tolkāppiyam and the Puṟapporuḷveṇbāmālai depict war in all its varied

1. नाविष्णुः पृथ्वीपतिः

aspects. The Puṟattiṇaiyiyal refers to the kinds of war operations which are chiefly divided into Veṭci, Vañci, Uḻiñai, Tumbai, and Vāhai. An old Tamil stanza gives us in a nut-shell the significance of wearing these wreaths. Cattle-raiding is represented by the Veṭci, while to recover the same is represented by Karandai. Invading the adversary's realm is Vañci, and the defence of it is Kāñcī. Defence of the rampart is Nocci, while the assault of the same is Uḻiñai (உழிஞை). Actual fighting in the field of battle is Tumbai, and victory therein is announced by wearing the Vāhai wreath.[1] Tolkāppiyaṉār, however, mentions only the five main divisions above quoted[2] classifying karandai, Kañci, Nocci, and other sub-themes as part of the main ones.

These pertinent divisions of Puṟam or tiṇais as they are termed are again sub-divided into tuṟais or conventional themes and they have been elaborately dealt with by the Tamil grammarians. All that takes place before, during and after the actual military operations are depicted therein, which will lead one to understand the conception of war in that remote period in the history of South India.

The Fortifications.

It has been already observed that battlements and good and secure fortifications are absolutely necessary for the capital city. Apart from the high ramparts and the deep moats round a capital city, kingdoms had a reserve forest, sea or big lake and impenetrable jungles surrounding them. A small forest growth of newly planted trees which was found next to the walls of the city on either side of the ditch or moat was one of the defences of a city. While the deep moat full of water served as what is known as the "நீரரண்" or literally the water-fort, the

1. "வெட்சி நிரைகவர்தல் மீட்டல் கரந்தையாம்
வட்கார்மேற் செல்வது வஞ்சியாம்—உட்கா
தெதிரூன்றல் காஞ்சி யெயில்காத்த னொச்சி
யதுவளைத்த லாகு முழிஞை—யதிரப்
பொருவது தும்பையாம் போர்க்களத்து மிக்கார்
செருவென் றதுவாகை யாம்.

2. "நிலவரை யிறந்த குண்டுகண் ணகழி;
வான்றோய் வன்ன புரிசை விசும்பின்
மீன்பூத் தன்ன வுருவ ஞாயிற்
கதிர்நுழை கல்லா மரம்பயில் கடிமிளை
அருங்குறும் புடுத்த கானப் பேரெயில்" (புறம். 21.)

extensive waste lands and the forest growths served as "நிலவரண்" and "காட்டரண்" respectively. On the fort-walls were fixed various devices and machines to assist in defeating and pushing back the assault of the enemy and his forces. The following description of "Kāṉappēreyil" is worth mentioning here.

"Kāṉappēreyil whose deep moat extends even beyond the Earth-limits, whose lofty battlements seem to kiss the heavenly border, the parts of whose fortress shine like the constellations in the sky and whose guarded thickets are studded so closely with trees as not to let in even the sun's rays."

These lines refer to the height and the depth of the rampart and the moats respectively, the dense and impenetrable nature of the protecting forest and the surrounding positions occupied by minor chiefs owing allegiance to the king. Again the lines "The fort-walls smeared with mustard paste thereby preventing the war-like enemy from scaling, and full of traps in the form of birds, stones, slings, bows etc."[1] give us a glimpse of the various devices fixed in the ramparts. In an ancient work of the same period we hear of a machine capable of killing hundred persons at one stroke, known as "slayer of hundreds" (நூற்றுவரைக் கொல்லி). Kuṟaḷ, Śukranīti and Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra give us elaborate details as to the nature and form of these fort-walls and moats. The following faithful description, from the mighty pen of Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, of the fort of the Pāṇḍyan capital is worth citing in this connection. The walls are said to possess the following features[2] :—

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1. "மறனுடை மறவர்க் கேற விடனின்றி
நெய்யொ டையவி யப்பியெவ் வாயு
மெந்திரப் பறவை யியற்றினர் நிறீஇக்
கல்லுங் கவணுங் கடுவிசைப் பொறியும்
வில்லுங் கணையும் பலபடப் பரப்பிப்
பந்தும் பாவையும் பசிவரிப் புட்டிலும்
என்றிவை பலவும்"

(தொல். புறத். பக். 209.)

2. "மிளையுங் கிடங்கும் வளைவிற் பொறியுங்
கருவிர லூகமுங் கல்லுமிழ் கவணும்
பரிவுறு வெந்நெயும் பாகடு குழிசியுங்
காயபொன் னுலையுங் கல்லிடு கூடையுந்
தூண்டிலுந் தொடக்கு மாண்டலை யடுப்புங்
கவையுங் கழுவும் புதையும் புழையும்

"The fort walls with entrances decorated with the victorious banners and encircled by the guardian forest and possessing the bow-trap which will automatically shoot forth arrows, the mechanism in the form of a baboon inflicting a deadly bite on those that draw near it, the stone-emitting slings, boiling cauldrons spattering ghee on all sides, huge metal pots for melting iron, baskets to hold sling-stones, imitation angling rods to catch hold of men who came close to them, chains that will grip one's neck and twist it even as the impaling stick, the decoy bird in the shape of a man's head, which when caused to fly, will strike the adversary's head, the iron fork which will hurl down people climbing up the trenches, impaling sticks, quivers, small apertures to stock arrows or missiles pointed and sharp spikes that will pierce through the bodies of men who dare to scale the walls, the artificial king-fisher which will blind the eyes of the enemy, the contrivance in the form of a boar which will tear the bodies of men with its strong and pointed horns, bamboo sticks for belabouring people, strong wooden beams hung on the backs of entrance doors as a sort of protection for them, javelins, small spears and ever so many devices in the form of elephants, serpents, eagles, tigers, rams and wheels." Thus we see the elaborate care with which these fort-walls were constructed which will go a great way to confirm what I have already said, that, as early as the 1st century A.D. and perhaps even earlier, the Tamilians had acquired considerable knowledge of the art of warfare, modes of defence, etc.

The Army Corps.

The army was divided into four bodies, chariots, elephants, horses and infantry. Frequent mention is made of these four divisions and we meet in the old classics detailed descriptions of them and their extraordinary prowess.

ஐயவித் துலாமுங் கைபெய லூசியுஞ்
சென்றெறி சிரலும் பன்றியும் பணையு
மெழுவுஞ் சீப்பு முழுவிறற் கணையமுங்
கோலுங் குந்தமும் வேலும் பிறவும்
ஞாயிலுஞ் சிறந்து நாட்கொடி நுடங்கும்
வாயில்"

(சிலப். 15, 207-17).

" The elephant, with the long trunk, which having its tusk as its weapon, broke open the door of the bastion and which had on its sides bells tied on to a rope".[1] "The small eyed elephant with its white tusk, the edge of which had been rendered less sharp or acute, because its metal covering broke into two in a dash against the rampart gate."[2]

"Swift horses trained in fight.[3]"

"Your elephants are uncontrollable, elephants which dash themselves upon the enemy's fort-walls, till their tusks are blunted."[4]

"Fleet-footed horses."[5]

"Tall and stalwart elephants, chariots and steeds."[6]

"Kings with stallions as fleet-footed as the raging wind, with chariots floating high banners, with the army legion as vast as the sea and with elephants capable of charging even hills and rocks.[7]" "Murderous elephants swelling with extreme fury, dignified

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1. "எயிறு படையாக வெயிற்கத விடாஅக்
கயிறுபிணிக் கொண்ட கவிழ்மணி மருங்கிற்
பெருங்கை யானை"

(புறம். 3.)

2. "கடிமதிற் கதவம் பாய்தலிற் றொடிபிளந்து
நுதிமுக மழுகிய மண்ணை வெண் கோட்டுச்
சிறுகண் யானை"

(அகம். 24.)

3. "வினைமாட்சிய விரை புரவியொடு"

(புறம். 16.)

4. "நுதிமுக மழுங்க மண்டி யொன்னார்
கடிமதில் பாயுநின் களிறடங் கலவே"

(புறம். 31.)

5. "கதழ் பரிய கலிமாவும்"

(புறம். 55.)

6. "நெடுநல் யானையுந் தேரு மாவும்"

(*Ibid*. 72.)

7. "வளிநடந் தன்ன வாஅச்செல லிவுளியொடு
கொடுநுடங்கு மிசைய தேரின ரெனாஅக்
கால்கண் டன்ன வொண்படைத் தானையொடு
மலைமாறு மலைக்குங் களிற்றின ரெனாஅ"

(*Ibid*. 197.)

steeds that are fleet-footed, tall chariots with lofty banners on them, and valiant soldiers with undaunted heart."[1]

The above quotations tell us of the four divisions of the military equipments of the ancient Tamils. Individual descriptions and pen-portraits of the excellent prowess exhibited by the elephants, horses etc. are not wanting. Under the captions or headings "Elephant's prowess."[2] "Horse's prowess"[3], we have very valuable and interesting information handed down to us. The following descriptions occurring in 'Muttoḷḷāyiram,' a rare work available only in parts, describing the glory and valour of the three eminent kings of Tamiḻakam, bear out the above statement.

"The elephant of Kiḷḷi whose arm is as strong as the rock, felt shy to face its mate, as its tusk had been broken by its dash on the rampart and as its nails were worn out by treading on the diadems of kings."[4] "By treading on the diadems of kings and by frequent kicks at their breast ornaments, the horses' hoofs shone like the touch-shone of gold[5]". Instances like these can be multiplied to illustrate the prowess or skill displayed by these trained animals.

Weapons.

Bows, arrows, javelins, swords, scimitars, and the trident were the main war weapons. The armour either of iron or

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1. "கடுஞ் சினத்த கொல்களிறுங்
   கதழ்பரிய கலிமாவும்
   நெடுங்கொடிய நிமிர்தேரு
   நெஞ்சுடைய புகன்மறவரும்"

   (புறம். 55.)

2. யானை மறம்

3. குதிரை மறம்

4. "கொடிமதிற் சாய்ந்திற்ற கோடு மாசர்
   முடியிடறித் தேய்ந்த நகமும் - பிடிமுன்பு
   பொல்லாமை நாணிப் புறங்கடை நின்றதே
   கல்லார்தோட் கிள்ளி களிறு"

   (முத்தொள்ளாயிரம்.)

5. "மாவளவன்—காலியன்மா
   மன்னர் முடியுதைத்து மார்பகத்துப் பூணுழக்கிப்
   பொன்னுரைகற் போன்ற குளம்பு"

   (பெருந்தொகை. 528.)

leather was invariably worn. The shield or kēḍayam was also in vogue. Glittering swords were deposited in metal or leather sheaths or scabbards. The lines

"கணை[1] பொருது கவிவண் கையாற்
கண்ணொளிர் வரூஉங் கவின்சாபத்து."[2]
"மாண்வினைச் சாப மார்புற வாங்கி
[3]ஞாண்பொர விளங்கிய வலிகெழு தடக்கை."

(பதிற். 90.)

[4]"கூர்நுனை வேலு மின்னின் விளங்கும்."

(புறம். 42.)

"விளங்குபொன் னெறிந்த நலங்கிளர் பலகை[5]யொடு
நிழல்படு நெடுவே லேந்தி."
"மழை யுருவின தோல்[6] பரப்பி."

and similar ones will give an idea of the weapons both offensive and defensive employed in wars in olden times.

Fairness in the Conduct of War.

Although wars of the biggest magnitude were waged by the kings in the ancient Tamil land, fairness and consideration were noticeable to some extent. Attention has been already drawn to the generosity shown by the victor in restoring the lands and other belongings to the vanquished provided the latter submitted.

Even at the outset the invader announces by beat of tom-tom his intention to advance on the capital. He announces[7] that he is going to shoot forth his arrows and directs cows, peace-loving Brahmans, women, invalids, those who have not brought forth sons to discharge their duties to their manes or deceased

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1. Arrow.
2. Bow.
3. Bow-string.
4. Spear, or javelin.
5. Metal shield.
6. Leather shield.
7. "ஆவு மானியற் பார்ப்பன மக்களும்
பெண்டிரும் பிணியுடை யீரும்.
தென்புலம் வாழ்நர்க் கருங்கட னிறுக்கும்
பொன்போற் புதல்வர்ப் பெறா தீரும்
எம்மம்பு கடிவிடுதும் நும்மரண் சேர்மினென
அறத்தாறு நுவலும் பூட்கை."

(புறம். 9.)

ancestors, to get under shelter; for a good reign it is, which guarantees the lives of all these. Closely connected with this is the raiding of the enemy's cattle. If at this first admonition the enemy does not provide a shelter for his cows, the on-coming invader takes upon himself this solemn duty. Kings who are bent on protecting those under their charge will often be actuated by charitable feelings of this sort.[1] The line "valorous princes who wage only righteous wars"[2] explains this. In Sūtram 10 of the Puṟattiṉaiyiyal of Tolkāppiyam, the commentator Naccinārk-kiṉiyar wishes to say[3] that a noble and benign rule consists in not killing or fighting without giving due warning the following persons, *viz.* feeble-hearted men, issueless persons, men with no hair on their heads, men who retreat, men bearing names of women, men who are not equals in valour, etc. The sub-division known as "தழிஞ்சி"[4] in Puṟapporuḷ also refers to such acts when the captor does not advance on his enemy, when he is unaided, when he shows a tendency to retreat and when he is wounded or bruised on his back. Here I may remind the reader of the incident that took place in the very first encounter between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Rāvaṇa stands deserted and unaided. Rāma, if he had willed, could have easily done away with him. But the virtuous and righteous hero advised him to go back to his capital and return for battle the next day well-equipped. He thus gave him time to consider, well-hoping that better sense might prevail. Another good aspect of the ancient wars is that we hear of no night engagements.

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1. "மன்னுயிர் காக்கும் மன்புடை வேந்தற்கு
மறத்துறை யினும் அறமே நிகழும்."
(தொல். புறத். நச். உரை.)

2. "அறத்தின் மண்டிய மறப்போர் வேந்தர்."

3. "சிறப்புடை அரசியலாவன, மடிந்த உள்ளத் தோனையும், மகப் பெறா தோனையும், மயிர்குலைந் தோனையும், அடிபிறக்கிட்டோனையும், பெண் பெயரோனையும், படையிழந்தோனையும், ஒத்தபடையெடா தோனையும் பிற வும் இத்தன்மை யுடையோனையும் கொல்லாது விடுதலும் கூறிப் பொருத லும் முதலியனவாம்."
(தொல். புறத். 10, நச். உரை.)

4. "அழிகுநர் புறக்கொடை யயில்வா ளோச்சாக்
கழிதறு கண்மை காதலித் துரைத்தன்று."

The oaths taken by the kings.

That the kings of the land were endowed with extra-ordinary military skill and physical strength, is borne out by the fine descriptions given of them by able Sangam bards and eulogists. Their determination either to win or die in the field and their solemn oaths will spur or goad to action even the worst coward. A king who was also a poet says[1]:

"Endowed with an army infuriated like the lion and with a daring heart, the adversaries have combined against me. If I do not see that they retreat before me with all their chariots and well-trained soldiers moping and pining, let me get myself separated from this, my beloved partner in life, let me be considered as having failed to impart justice by putting an unworthy person over an assembly full of men who never swerve from the sacred path of virtue." Another king says[2]: "Sweet things have we taken in to-day. But, unless we win over the enemy's fortwalls, we shall not partake of any meal to-morrow." In these lines we see the solemn determination and noble vows of the invaders.

Some preliminaries of battle.

Before a king actually started on a campaign, some preliminaries were gone through. He consulted the 'purohit' for fixing the proper day and the hour for beginning his operations. He used to send his royal parasol and his sword in advance at the hour or muhūrtam fixed. Consultation of omens indicated by

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1. "மடங்கலிற் சினைஇ மடங்கா வுள்ளத்
தடங்காத் தானை வேந்த ருடங்கியைந்
தென்னொடு பொருது மென்ப வவரை
ஆரம லலறத் தாக்கித் தேரோ
டவர்ப்புறங் காணே னாயிற் சிறந்த
பேரம ருண்க ணிவளினும் பிரிக
அறனிலை திரியா வன்பி னவையத்துத்
திறனி லொருவனை நாட்டி முறைதிரிந்து
மெலிகோல் செய்தே னாகுக."

(புறம். 71.)

2. "இன்றினிது நுகர்ந்தன மாயினாளை
மண்புனை யிஞ்சி மதில்கடந் தல்ல
துண்குவ மல்லேம் புகர்வெனக் கூறிக்
கண்ணி கண்ணிய வயவர் பெருமகன்."

(பதிற். 6, 8.)

birds was also had. Even if that was not done the warriors were not to tarry and mark time. We hear the soldiers exclaim[1]: "As the king has commanded us to advance without consulting the auspicious day or caring for the omens of birds, we too shall not stop but proceed to the battlefield to fight unto death." Here we see the bold determination of the soldiers to fight and die in the thick of the fight, without waiting for the indication of the auguries or omens as their king himself has ignored them. These bold men go by the name of "சாவேறு". This term occurs frequently in the South Indian Inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries and A.D. wherein we meet with the line "சாவேறெல்லாந் தனிவிசும்பேற."

Another duty discharged by the kings before offering battle was the serving of rich and sumptuous meals to the soldiers. The worship of Koṟṟavai or the war deity was another important event. The propitiation of the goddess appears strange. Valiant soldiers born of the military caste offer their heads in sacrifice at the altar of Koṟṟavai, praying for the victory of their lord in the campaign to follow. Old books make mention of the excellent valour and prowess that characterised these warriors. The Kaliṅgattupparaṇi a war ballad of the 12th century A.D. gives us a thrilling picture of the reckless valour of these soldiers. There was no mercenary army in those days. The warriors were all very much devoted to their sovereign and were prepared to risk their valuable lives in battle. The above works, while they abound in their exploits, inform us also of the special existence of warlike families or clans in that remote period. They were known as "மூதிற்குடி"; and "மூதின்முல்லை" the martial spirit of the ladies of the warlike clan is one of the minor themes of Puṟattiṇiaiyiyal (புறத்திணையியல்). The words of the poet that those warriors were born with sword in hand and rose into prominence when there existed only rocks and when mud or sand had not come into existence, show their high antiquity. In those days women were largely responsible for the stimulation of valour in their offspring.

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1. "நாளும் புள்ளுங் கேளா னூக்கமொ
டெங்கோ னேயின னாகலின்"
"உட்பகை யொருதிறம் பட்டெனப் புட்பகைக்
கேவா னாகலிற் சாவேம் யாமென"

2. "கற்றோன்றி மண்டோன்றாக் காலத்தே வாளோடு
முற்றோன்றி மூத்த குடி"

Here is a pen-picture of the hero born of such a warlike family extracted from Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, one of Pattuppāṭṭu of the Sangam period: "The hero[1] with a scanty beard resembling the tiger's cub, who came of the valiant people who live solely by their swords and highway robberies and who was born of the valorous woman who, even when she was big with child, never got agitated or worried when an elephant attacked her or a serpent passed over her or when a terrific peal of thunder made a tremendous crash."

This gives us an impression of the types of heroic mothers and their equally heroic offspring in that remote period. Many an instance may be multiplied to illustrate this statement. A stanza in Puṟapporuḷvenbāmālai tells us as follows:—

[2]"She will not brook to hear that the enemy had advanced towards the city. She at once pulled up her child sucking her breast, gave him the spear setting right the bent or curve in it, showed him the hero-stones planted in memory of his ancestors and despatched him straight to the thick of the fight. Similarly another stanza in Puṟam has the following description:—"The mother[3] born of the heroic line heard that her son

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1. "யானை தாக்கினு மரவுமேற் செலினும்
நீணிற விசும்பின் வல்லேறு சிலைப்பினும்
சூன்மகண் மாறா மறம்பூண் வாழ்க்கை
வலிக்கூட் டுண்ணும் வாட்குடிப் பிறந்த
புலிப்போத் தன்ன புல்லணற் காளை"

(பெரும்பாண்.)

2. "வந்தபடை நோனாள் வாயின் முலைபறித்து
வெந்திற லெஃக மிறைக்கொளீஇ...முந்தை
முதல்வர்கற் றான்காட்டி மூதின் மடவாள்
புதல்வனைச் செல்கென்றாள் போர்க்கு"

(பு. வெ. மா.)

3. "நரம்பெழுந் துலறிய நிரம்பா மென்றோள்
முளரி மருங்கின் முதியோள் சிறுவன்
படையழிந்து மாறின னென்றுபலர் கூற
மண்டமர்க் குடைந்தன னாயி னுண்டவன்
முலையறுத் திடுவென் யானெனச் சினைஇக்
கொண்ட வாளொடு படுபிணம் பெயராச்
செங்களந் துழவுவோள் சிதைந்துவே றாகிய
படுமகன் கிடக்கை காணூஉ
ஈன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிதுவந் தனளே"

(புறம். 278.)

fled away from the fight. Straight she took a sword in hand and exclaiming that in case her son had actually retreated in the fights she would chop off her breasts that suckled him, proceeded to the field of battle and after a strenuous search found to her surprise the body of her beloved son torn asunder in twain. She was overcome with joy and her rapture was greater than it was when she gave him birth". Another poet writes as follows:—"What a bold and sturdy resolve. It does become a woman born of the heroic line. Her brother vanquished an elephant and died in a previous fight. Her husband died recently while pushing through the serried ranks of his enemy's forces. To-day, hearing the war-drum she gave her only son the javelin, attired him neatly, dressed his hair and sent him willingly to the war-front".

When the poetess Avvaiyār was asked by Atiyamān̲ a chieftain, whether there were warriors in her parts, she is said to have replied as follows:—"[2]Young warriors as bold as the serpent that fears not the striking rod, are in abundance and there chief too is there, who will start for the battle even on hearing the sound caused by the play of the wind on the trumpet that hangs in the common, believing that the signal for the march to battle has been given." Readers of history are likely to remember the classic lines of Cēramān̲ Peruñcēralātan̲ when he was incarcerated by his adversary Koccenkaṇan̲. The lines "குழவி யிறப்பினு மூன்றடி பிறப்பினு, மாளன் றென்று வாளிற் றப்பார்" remind us that it was customary among the warlike clans in those days whenever a child died or even when

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1. "கடி திவடுணிவே
மூதின் மகளி ராத றகுமே
மேனா ளுற்ற செருவிற் கிவடன்னை
யானை யெறிந்து களத்தொழிந் தனனே
நெருந லுற்ற செருவிற் கிவள்கொழுநன்
பெருநிரை விலங்கி யாண்டுப்பட் டனனே
இன்றும், செருப்பறை கேட்டு விருப்புற்று மயங்கி
வேல்கைக் கொடுத்து வெளிது விரித்துடீஇப்
பாறுமயிர்க் குடுமி யெண்ணெய் நீவி
ஒருமக னல்ல தில்லோள்
செருமுக நோக்கிச் செல்கென விடுமே"

(புறம். 279.)

2. "எறிகோ லஞ்சா வரவி னன்ன

an unripe or undeveloped foetus came out from the womb, to cut it with a sword, as they believed that then only that soul will attain vīraśvarga or the heaven of the brave and the valiant.[1] They thought that it was a disgrace for one who came of a warlike family to die anywhere other than in the battle-field. Indian books tell us of the four castes in India from times immemorial and of Kṣattriyas who were solely entrusted with the protection and the guardianship of the land. We all know how, in the field of Kurukṣetra, Lord Kṛṣṇa[3] persuaded Arjuna to take to fight, laying special stress on the sacred duty of one born a Kṣattriya and reminding him of the impossibility of entering the beautiful heaven otherwise. He impressed on him that[4] one's duty or Dharma however ill-practised, was a thousand times better than that of another however well-kept and cherished. To die on the field of battle fighting like a true Kṣattriya was a most ennobling act. A genuine warrior used to pride himself on the number of wounds inflicted by the enemy on his body and to reckon any day that did not give him such a wound as but an ill-spent day.[5] The conception of vīrasvarga as held by these warriors and descriptions of how the heavenly maids used to welcome the heroes who fell in battle, afford interesting though melancholy reading.

சிறுவா மள்ளரு முளரே யதாஅன்று
பொதுவிற் றூங்கும் விசியுறு தண்ணுமை
வளிபொரு தெண்கண் கேட்பின்
அதுபோ ரென்னு மென்னையு முளனே"

(புறம். 74.)

3. யத்ருச்சயா சோபபந்நம் ஸ்வர்க்கத்வாரமபாவ்ருதம் ।
அத சேத்த்வமிமம் தர்ம்யம் ஸங்க்ராமம் ந கரிஷ்யஸி ॥
ததஃ ஸ்வதர்மம் கீர்த்திம் ச ஹித்வா பாபமவாப்ஸ்யஸி ।

4. ஶ்ரேயாந் ஸ்வதர்மோ விகுணஃ பரதர்மாத்
ஸ்வநுஷ்டிதாத் ।
ஸ்வதர்மே நிதநம் ஶ்ரேயஃ பரதர்மோ பயாவஹஃ ॥

5. "விழுப்புண் படாதநா ளெல்லாம் வழுக்கினுள்
வைக்குந்தன் னாளை யெடுத்து"

(குறள், 776.)

In one of the stanzas in Purananūru we meet with the following idea—"[1]Blessed are your enemies, though they could not withstand your onslaughts, they now occupy the Heaven of the Brave" and in another the following words of praise. "[2]Let your fame shine forth. By your prowess in the field of action, the winkless gods who adorn themselves with the unfading flowers of Heaven, have got now a good number of guests." These lines remind us of the heroic fight to the finish of warriors who attain the "vīrasvarga" by their valour.

Akin to and closely allied to this conception is the notion of [3]"Fasting unto death." The ceremony consists in the observer proceeding in the northern direction and fixing himself firmly in a place without food or drink and with a sword in hand. Puram 65 tells us of a Cēramān who preferred this fast to a life of disgrace and ignominy brought about by his being wounded on the back in his encounter with a Cōla king (and consequently becoming liable to be mistaken for a craven).

[4]Cutting or felling the guardian tree.

This is one of the very first acts indulged in by the oncoming invader. Every king or chieftain had his favourite guardian tree, the protection of which was a sacred duty enjoined on him. To allow the guardian tree to be cut off by the enemy was deemed a mark of humiliation[5] and a sign of defeat or dis-

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1. "நோற் றோர் மன்ற நின் பகைவர் நின்னொடு
மாற்றா ரென்னும் பெயர்பெற்
றாற்றா ராயினு மாண்டுவாழ் வோரே"
(புறம். 26.)

2. "வாடாப் பூவி னிமையா நாட்டத்து
நாற்ற வுணர்வி னோரு மாற்ற
அரும்பெற லுலக நிறைய
வருந்துபெற் றனராற் பொலிகநும் புகழே"
(புறம். 62.)

3. வடக்கிருத்தல் அல்லது
வான் வடக்கிருத்தல்.

4. கடிமரந்தடிதல்.

5. "பலர்மொசிந் தோம்பிய திரள்பூங் கடம்பின்
கடியுடை முழுமுத றுமிய வேஎய்
வென்றெறி முழங்குபணை செய்த வெல்போர்."
(பதிற். 2, 1.)

comfiture. A number of expert warriors used to keep close guard over it; and the cutting of it was considered a notable achievement on the part of the enemy. In Patiṟṟuppattu we have the following:—

"The successful fight announced by the victory drum after uprooting the beautiful and well developed kadamba tree which was closely guarded by a number of warriors." Again in the same work the poet writes to say.—[1]"Oh wrathful prince who cut off root and branch the Kadamba tree, killing with your sword the skilled soldiers that kept guard over them." Again the lines—[2]"The victorious war drum announcing the victory by cutting off the Kadamba tree after crossing the wide sea" and the lines—[3]"Oh! valiant prince! full of wrath, who cut off the Kadamba tree after advancing boldly against the enemy, crossing the sea" etc. inform us of the naval warfare carried on by the Tamilians in boats and ships driven by the gale. The frequent references to the Kadamba tree suggest that the adversaries might have been the Kadamba line of kings.

Civil wars.

Civil wars or fights between groups of the same community, were also in vogue in the ancient Tamil land. The poets and bards played no small and insignificant part in these struggles. Inciting the one or pacifying the other was in their hands. They were held in high esteem by the rulers who priced their eulogistic verses above everything else. One king swears by his life and says that, if he fails to overcome his adversary, he shall go unsung and unhonoured by his court bard, Māṅguḍi-marutaṉār. Secure of such confidence and royal support,

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1. "வயவர் வீழ வாளரின் மயக்கி
யிடங்கவர் கடும்பி னரசுதலை பனிப்பக்
கடம்புமுத றடிந்த கடுஞ்சின வேந்தே."

(பதிற். 2, 2.)

2. "துளங்குபிசி ருடைய மாக்கட னீக்கிக்
கடம்பறித் தியற்றிய வலம்படு வியன்பணை."

(*Ibid*, 2, 7.)

3. "இருமுந்நீர்த் திருத்தியுள்
முரணியோர்த் தலைச்சென்று
கடம்புமுத றடிந்த கடுஞ்சின முன்ப."

some unscrupulous bards played one party against another. But in the main, these bards held positions of high trust and were often instrumental in warding off unnecessary blood-shed. A poet addresses two rival princes of the same line bent on fighting with each other in the following terms—"You wear neither the palmyra flower wreath nor the margosa wreath. Both of you wear one and the same Ātti wreath (Puṟam. 45). Defeat of either tantamounts to the defeat of your line. Neither is victory possible for both of you. Hence this does not become your noble line. This will rouse the titter and ridicule of your rival kings."[1]

From this we can realise the important role played by the poet-bard. Many succeeded in putting an end to impending conflicts. Stanzas 46 and 58 of Puṟanāṉūṟu are illustrative of this feature. Some poets stimulated by their poems the military ardour of their patrons and thereby roused hostilities. A bard addresses his patron as the lord of warriors and asks him: [2]"Who is there to stand against you when once you set foot on the field of battle." [3]Another bard prays for the long life not only of his patron but also of his adversaries in fight because the latter are likely to give his patron lord ample scope for the exhibition of his military skill.

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1. "இரும்பனை வெண்டோடு மலைந்தோ னல்லன்
கடுஞ்சினை வேம்பின் றெரியலோ னல்லன்
நின்ன கண்ணியு மார்மிடைந் தன்றே
பொருவோன் கண்ணியு மார்மிடைந் தன்றே
ஒருவீர் தோற்பினுந் தோற்பதுங் குடியே
இருவீர் வேற லியற்கையு மன்றே, அதனாற்
குடிப்பொரு ளன்றுநுஞ் செய்தி கொடித்தேர்
நும்மோ ரன்ன வேந்தர்க்கு
மெய்மலி யுவகை செய்யுமிவ் விகலே."

(புறம். 45.)

2. "மழவர்பெரும
இருநில மண்கொண்டு சிலைக்கும்
பொருநரு முளரோ நீகளம் புகினே."

(புறம். 90.)

3. "வன்புல நாடன் மாவண் பிட்டன்
ஆரமர் கடக்கும் வேலும் மவனிறை
மாவள் வீகைக் கோதையும்
மாறுகொண் மன்னரும் வாழியர் நெடிதே."

(புறம். 172.)

Some noteworthy events in war.

The fight in and around the ramparts was always a very severe and trying one. Huge ladders were laid on the sides of the walls and both parties fought standing on the ladders. When the ramparts gave way the warriors dived into the moat and continued to fight. The self-sacrifice of a hero for his patron lord was a common occurrence. The soldier standing firm even when some of his limbs got broken or damaged fighting strenuously unto death with the rest of his limbs, was a ghastly sight. It was also customary to take women to the battle-field, sometimes to fight but mainly for nursing.

The following lines of Puranāṉūṟu

"இன்னகை மகளிர் வேஎய்ப் புண்ணோற்
றுன்னுதல் கடிந்த தொடாஅக் காஞ்சியும்"
"தீங்கனி யிரவமொடு வேம்புமனைச் செரீஇ
வாங்குமருப் பியாழொடு பல்லியங் கறங்கப்
பையப் பெயர்த்து மைவிழு திழுகி
பையவி சிதறி யாம்ப லூதி
யிசைமணி யெறிந்து காஞ்சி பாடி
நெடுநகர் வரைப்பிற் கடிநறை புகைஇக்
காக்கம் வம்மோ காதலந் தோழி
வேந்துறு விழுமந் தாங்கிய
பூம்பொறி யுடைய நெடுந்தகை புண்ணே."

(புறம். 281.)

suggest to us the presence of some sorcerers actually at work in the relief and nursing of the wounded. "The பேஎய் or demons probably refer to these nursing agents. Incidentally we are told that the very wife of the deceased warrior shudders to approach her fallen lover because of the ghastly wounds in his frame. This is the Āñji-Kāñji theme of Puṟapporuḷ. The wives of slain warriors committed Sati with their deceased partners. Some of them hit themselves with the spear or javelin that hit their beloved ones and as if they tried to seek out the soul of the dead with their own soul, committed suicide.[1] In Mūdānandam, another section of Puṟattiṇai, we have the example of a faithful wife who, after placing the severed head[2] of her departed partner

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1. "தன்னுயிர் கொண் டவனுயிர் தேடினள்போல்."
2. "முலையும் முகனுஞ் சேர்த்திக் கொண்டோன்
தலையொடு முடிந்த நிலையொடு தொகை."

on her face immediately breathes her last. Next we get a description of the terrible dance of trunks of bodies fallen in the fight. The presistent fight of the warriors in the moats has already been referred to. In the fight that ensues in the ramparts, the victor gets hold of his enemy's head gear and wears it as his own. He then takes his purificatory bath in honour of the fallen hero or king. We then hear of what is technically known as "வாண் மங்கலம்" which consists in the victorious warrior placing his sword at the altar of the war-goddess[1] and performing the purificatory bath of the idol. In the following lines we have a faithful picture of an actual fight in these days. [2]"The battle-field that is the scene of a thousand acts of slaughter appears to these brave youngsters as a place of festival. Full of heroic spirit they are for immolating their lives at the altar of friendship. Hence they do not mind death in battle. Like bubbles occasioned by the rain-drops on a watery surface they fall scattered. As ram hits a ram in fight, their faces hit each other. Fists have a free play. Hand to hand fight ensues as also fights with bows and arrows. With the various gestures of a genuine fighting warrior, they fight and fall. After all the fallen fighters to whichever side they

1. கொற்றவை.

2. "குழாஅக்களிற் றரசர் குறித்தெழு கொலைக்களம்
விழாஅக்களம் போல மெய்ம்மலி யுவகைய
ராண்மை யுள்ளங் கேண்மையிற் றூரத்தலி
னழுந்துபடர் புல்லி விழுந்துகளம் படுநரு
நீர்ப்பெயற் பிறந்த மொக்குள் போலத்
தாக்கிய விசையிற் சிதர்ந்துநிலம் படுநருந்
தகருந் தகருந் தாக்கிய தாக்கின்
முகமுகஞ் சிதற முட்டு வோரு
முட்டியின் முறைமுறை குத்து வோருங்
கட்டிய கையொடு காறட் குநருங்
கிட்டினர் கையாற் றெருட்டுநிற் போருஞ்
சுட்டிய பெயரை விட்டழிப் போருஞ்
சக்கரம் போலச் சங்குவிட் டெறிநரும்
சிலைப்புடை முரசிற் றலைப்புடைக் குநரும்
மல்லிற் பிடித்தும் வில்லி னேற்றியும்
ஊக்கியு முரப்பியு நோக்கியு நுவன்றும்
போக்கியும் புழுங்கியுங் கயிறுபல வீசியு
மினைய செய்தியின் முனைமயங் குநரும்
பிறப்பும் பெருமையுஞ் சிறப்புஞ் செய்கையும்

belong, proceed to one and the same loka (world). They have done their best and have been true to their salt. While their wives on earth mourn over their dead bodies, they hurry on to garland the celestial maids in their heaven." Another stanza from "Takaṭūr Yāttirai" (the military advance on Takaṭūr) is equally interesting. In this stanza we have the following clear enunciation of the duty of a good warrior. [1]"A good warrior, if he dedicates his life in battle, wins the approval of his patron lord for having helped him in need, secures the praise of all and is considered to have had a victorious course of life. Why then should one embrace other courses which are not only void of fame but full of disgrace and infamy ? After all life is fleeting." This spirit that characterises them is of paramount importance to a king or chieftain. Unlike the mercenary army which is oftentimes disposed to practise defection, these warriors can always be relied upon. When we hear that a warrior who has stuck his spear on an elephant at once gets hold of another that has pierced his body, to renew his fight and that it was considered ignomnious even to wink[2] when the opponent hurls the javelin or drives the spear into his body, we realise the high ennobling notions entertained by these bold men and the high standard of mili-

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அரைசறி பெருமையும் உரைசெல் லாண்மையும்
உடையோ ராகிய படைகொள் மாக்கள்
சென்றுபுகு முலக மொன்றே யாதலின்
ஒன்றுபடு மனத்தொடு கொன்றுகொன் றவப்பச்
செஞ்சோற்று விலையுந் தீர்ந்துதம் மனைவியர்
தம்பிணந் தழீஇ நொந்துகலுழ்ந் திரங்காது,
வந்த மகளிர்க்கு வதுவை சூட்டிய
வான்படர்ந்தோரே"

(புறத்திரட்டு.)

1. "தற்கொள் பெருவிறல் வேந்துவப்பத் தானவற்
கொற்கத் துதவினா னாகுமாற் பிற்பிற்
பலர்புகழ் செல்வந் தருமாற் பலர்தொழ
வாகை வாழ்க்கையு மீயுமா லன்னதோர்
மேன்மை யிறப்பப் பழிவருவ செய்பவோ
தானேயும் போகு முயிர்க்கு"

(தகடூர்யாத்திரை.)

2. "விழித்தகண் வேல்கொண் டெறிய வழித்திமைப்பி
னோட்டன்றோ வன்க ணவர்க்கு"

(குறள், 775.)

tary skill and the utter selflessness that characterised them. "[1]If it is given to a soldier to die fighting for his patron lord moving him to tears of gratitude for all the good acts he has rendered him, that death is quite welcome and one can even crave to meet such a death." This was the noble conceptoin of these brave soldiers in these early times.

Scenes of Victory.

Ravaging the conquered territory with fire was often resorted to. In stanza 6 of Puṟanāṉūṟu a bard expresses his solemn wish that the wreath worn by his patron king must fade by the smoke arising from the fire that destroys his adversary's domain. The lines

"ஊர்சுடு விளக்கத் தழுவிளிக் கம்பலைக்
கொள்ளை மேவலை"
"எம நன்னா டொள்ளெரி யூட்டினை"
"வினைபுனை நல்லில் வெவ்வெரி நைப்பக்
கனையெரி யுரறிய மருங்கும்"
"கரும் பல்லது காடறியாப்
பெருந் தண்பணை பாழாக
எம நன்னா டொள்ளெரி யூட்டினை"
"முனைசுடு கனையெரி யெரித்தலிற் பெரிது
மிதழ்கவி னழிந்த மாலையொடு சாந்துபுலர்
பல்பொறி மார்பநின் பெயர்வா ழியரோ"

tell us of the pitiable condition of a ravaged land.

Next the devastation of the enemy's territory was another atrocity perpetrated by the conquerors. The following description[2] from Patiṟṟuppattu will bear this out. "In the groves caused by the passage of the chariot-wheels you caused the white-mouthed asses to pass through thus completely laying waste their broad lands." The following[3] is a study in contrast attempted by one Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇaṉār in the same classical work.

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1. "புரந்தார்க ணீர்மல்கச் சாகிற்பிற் சாக்கா
டிரந்துகோட் டக்க துடைத்து"
(குறள், 778.)

2. "கடுந்தேர் குழித்த ஞெள்ள லாங்கண்
வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புல்லினம் பூட்டிப்
பாழ்செய் தனையவர் நனந்தலை நல்லெயில்"

3. "தொறுத்த வய லாரல் பிறழ்நவும்
ஏறு பொருதசெறு வுழாது வித்துநவும்

"The irrigated fields where the Āral fish freely played, the fields that were sown without the necessity of tilling because the fat oxen had their free fights there, the sugar-cane crops being protected by the tall neytal (Blue water-lily) plants, which served as a hedge for keeping the buffaloes from breaking into the fields, the places where the bent-head old cows grazed on the āmbal (water-lily) flowers that fell scattered in the course of the Tuṇaṅkai dance, the groves that abounded in fertile cocoanuts, the meadows, the water-courses and attractive ponds, all these places, now that you have destroyed them appear quite desolate. Now the Vitatēṟai (Ashy babool) and Uṭai (Acacia) trees only are to be seen growing there. The demon is riding in triumph in these parts. Neṟiñji (cows' thorn) and other thorny shrubs have taken the place of the rich and fertile crops and people shudder even to think of these changes."

It was also the practice among the victors to bathe their elephants in the tanks of the subdued territory which were well-guarded. The lines

"கடிதுறை நீர்க் களிறுபடீஇ"
"ஒளிறு மருப்பிற் களிறவர
காப்புடைய கயம்படியினே."

கரும்பின் பாத்திப் பூத்த நெய்த
லிருங்க ணெருமையி னிரைதடுக் குநவுங்
கலிகெழு துணங்கை யாடிய மருங்கின்
வளைதலை மூதா வாம்ப லார்நவு
மொலிதெங்கி னிமிழ் மருதிற்
புனல்வாயிற் பூம்பொய்கைப்
பாடல் சான்ற பயங்கெழு வைப்பி
னாடுகவி னழிய நாமந் தோற்றிக்
கூற்றடூஉ நின்ற யாக்கை போல
நீசிவந் திறுத்த நீரழி பாக்கம்
விரிபூங் கரும்பின் கழனி புல்லெனத்
திரிகால் விடத்தரொடு காருடை போகிக்
கவைத்தலைப் பேய்மகள் கழுதூர்ந் தியங்க
வூரிய நெருஞ்சி நீறுடு பைந்தலைத்
தாதெரு மறுத்த கலியெழு மன்றத்
துள்ள மழிய வூக்குநர் மிடறபுத்
துள்ளுநர் பனிக்கப் பாழா யினவே."

(பதிற். 13.)

tell us of this custom. Then we find that the victor used to make a kaḻal (கழல்) or Vīrakaṇṭai from the gold extracted from the enemy's diadem and wear the same in his ankle. A poet sings "[1]you the victorious king who with the gold got from the crown of the defeated enemy, have caused to be made a kaḻal and have adorned your leg with the same." We also get a horrible description of the "Field Sacrifice." [2]"In the 26th stanza of Puṟanāṉūṟu, a poet addresses the king as follows:[3]—

"Oh, ye Ceḻiya. You killed the kings in battles and wrested from them their war drums. With their heads that wore crowns, serving as ovens and their blood as the boiling water, you turned up the boiling rice with their severed hands that had worn bracelets once. Thus you performed your field sacrifice".

Another act of victory was the planting of the ensign of the victor's banner in the enemy's land. The planting of the tiger ensign by Karikālcōḻa and the bow ensign by the Cēra king is very well known. The following lines are in praise of a king. "Fraught with valour you are enabled to break down the gates of the ramparts and to implant your tiger emblem on the fort-walls of the capital."[4] The next important act of the victor was to take possession of the field of action. The field automatically belongs to the conqueror. The lines

"வென்று களங்கொண்ட வேல்வேந்தே" (பு. வெ. மா. 9, 37)
"களங் கொள் பொறைய"

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1. "நீயே
முடிபுனைந்த பசும்பொன்னின்
அடிபொலியக் கழறைஇய
வல்லாளனை வயவேந்தே."
(புறம். 40.)

2. களவேள்வி.

3. அரைசுபட வமருழக்கி
உரைசெல முரசுவெளவி
முடித்தலை யடுப்பாகப்
புனற்குருதி யுலைக்கொளீஇத்
தொடித்தோட் டுடுப்பிற் றுழந்த வல்சியின்
அடுகளம் வேட்ட வடுபோற் செழிய."

4. "ஏழெயிற் கதவ மெறிந்துகைக் கொண்டுநின்
பேழ்வா யுழுவை பொறிக்கு மாற்றலை."

"கொன்று களங்கொள்ளுங் கோல்யானை
வேந்தனை
வென்று களங்கொள்ளும் வேந்து."

are illustrative of the above practice. We then find that the subjugated yavana soldiers had their hands bound and their heads smeared with oil, while the best valuables that belonged to the vanquished were carried away as spoils of victory.[1]

[2]Another deplorable and barbarous act of the victors was the making of ropes from the hair removed from the heads of the widows of the slain enemy and using them to draw their chariots. The pitiable devastation of the country will be clear from the following description.

[3]"You cut off the strong margosa that was the guardian tree of your foe, and by slaughtering the soldiers that defy you, caused a stream of blood to flow. The blood ran like rain water in mountain gorges and the dead bodies were seen lying in heaps everywhere. Thus you sounded your drum of victory."

Acts like those described above were deemed fit to appease the wrath of the victor, generated by the violent action of his adversary, unmindful of his prowess. These atrocities which are said to have been perpetrated in the ancient Tamil land have their echo even now in the 20th century, in the midst of the so-called civilised nations. Arranging the foes in a line in fifties and hundreds, the victors shoot them all with volley fire, with-

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1. "நயனில் வன்சொல் யவனர்ப் பிணித்து
நெய்தலைப் பெய்து கைபிற் கொளீஇ
யருவிலை நன்கலம் வயிரமொடு கொண்டு." (பதிற். 2. பதி.)

2. "முரற்சிக் களிறு பூட்டி
யொழுகை யுய்த்த."
"வாலிழை கழித்த நறும்பல் பெண்டிர்
பல்லிருங் கூந்தன் முரற்சியாற்
குஞ்சர வொழுகை பூட்டி." (பதிற் 5. பதி.)

3. "நெய்த்தோர் தொட்ட செங்கை மறவர்
நிறம்படு குருதி நிலம்படர்ந் தோடி
மழைநாட் புனலி னவல்பரந் தொழுகப்
படுபிணம் பிறங்கப் பாழ்பல செய்து
படுகண் முரசு நடுவண் சிலைப்பக்
கடுஞ்சினை விறல் வேம்பறுத்து."

(பதிற். 5, 9,)

out the least compunction. Regular holocaust is caused and the recent war in Spain is a hundred times worse than those waged in times of yore, a description of which had been attempted in the foregoing pages.

One other curious custom prevalent in those days was to fix or tie margosa leaves in the eaves of house-fronts so that the demons may not approach the wounded people lying inside. The king used to grant a general amnesty and order a truce even in the middle of a campaign, if his[1] birth-day celebration intervened. But the hostilities commenced the very next day with renewed vigour to be continued until final success was achieved. The king was also used to set up the teeth of his adversary in the doors or gateways of ramparts and thus satisfy his revenge.[2] The cultivated lands of the enemy were laid waste and rāgi (Eleusine coracanara) and horsegram were sown therein.

Lastly the spoils of victory were distributed by the victor to his allies, to those fighters who, true to their salt, helped him to win the battle, to the messengers and secret spies, who supplied him with information of the various movements of the enemy, to the bards and minstrels who sang his praises and to other well-wishers. The cows captured from the enemy were freely distributed to all. The following passages will best illustrate the above statement.

[3]"Distributing in the order of merits, to the recipients of gifts, the wealth surrendered by the defeated king."

[4]"The king full of fury at the scene of battle returned with the spoils, to be given away freely to the different classes of minstrels."

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1. நாண்மங்கலம்.

2. "மூவன் முழுவலி முள்ளெயி றழுத்திய
கதவிற் கானலந் தொண்டிப் பொருந."

(நற். 18.)

"நெடுஞ்சே ணாட்டிற் றலைத்தார்ப் பட்ட
கல்லா வெழினி பல்லெறிந் தழுத்திய
வன்கட் கதவின்."

(அகம். 211.)

3. "அவ்வெயிற் கொண்ட செய்வுறு நன்கலம்
பரிசின் மாக்கட்கு வரிசையி னல்கி"

(புறம். 6.)

4. "அங்கட் கிணையன் றுடியன் விறலியன்
வெங்கட்கு வீசும் விலையாகும்—செங்கட்

[1]"Bestowing on the dancers chariots and horses." [2]Having removed the penury of minstrels with the spoils got from the destruction of the enemy's ramparts or fort-walls." [3]Satisfying the relatives that adhere to him with the tribute paid by the defeated king." [4]Decking or embellishing the minstrels' heads with gold got from the face ornaments of the enemy's elephant."

Messengers and spies.

These people played an important role in our ancient system of international relations. [5]The royal ambassador was always a very capable man fully qualified for that post. Nobility of birth, love towards his relations, devotion to the king, wisdom and commonsense, care and consideration in the choice and use of words, deep erudition, fine and enticing personality, brevity of expression and a capacity for discrimination, these are the indispensable qualifications of a successful ambassador. It is for him to extol his master's prowess and to praise him to the skies.

[6]The spies were of a different order. They are described as the king's eyes. The king must employ spies to gather information about the enemy's movements. The spies must secretly work and get information about all classes of people including officials and enemies of the king. Disguising themselves as mendicants and others they should carefully secure information. One spy will not suffice. A number of them must be employed in one and the same errand, while a special care should be taken that

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செருச்சிலையா மன்னர் செருமுனையிற் சீறி
வரிச்சிலையாற் றந்த வளம்"

(பு. வெ. மா. 16.)

1. "நாளீண்டிய நல்லகவர்க்குத்
தேரோடு மாசிதறி"

2. "விறன் வேன் மன்னர் மன்னெயின் முருக்கி
நயவர் பாணர் புன்கண் தீர்த்தபின்"

(சிறுபாண்.)

8. "வேந்து தந்த பணிதிறையாற்
சேர்ந்தவர் கடும்பார்த்து"

(புறம். 22.)

4. "பாணர் சென்னி பொலியத் தைஇ"

(புறம் 126.)

5. *See* Tirukkuṟaḷ, Chap. 69.
6. Do Chap. 59.

each knows not the other and when all of them return with news the king must get their statements separately and by comparing and collating them, understand the nature of the situation. Any public demonstration on behalf of any spy was absolutely prohibited as that would lead the people to inquire into the cause of the demonstration which would ultimately frustrate the end in view. Absolute secrecy must be maintained at all costs. The spy himself must be a fearless individual capable of undergoing any hardship that may be his lot to suffer in case he should be detected.

This organised system of messengers and spies was one of the valuable aids to kingship that existed in those days. Mediators were also there, who gained a lot by their successful efforts. The king honoured those who helped him and conferred on them various titles of distinction as. [1]'Ēṉāti', [2]Kāviti, etc. This was termed [3]"Mārāya-c-ciṟappu" in the ancient Tamil works on grammar.

Confederation.

Many kings or chiefs allied themselves in wars. We come across numerous instances of this alliance or confederation in the old Tamil books. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharāvēla the Great of Kaliṅga dated 157. B. C. records the earliest known mention of such confederations. The inscription tells us that Kharāvēla broke or dissolved the confederation of the Dravidian kings. This is termed [4]"*Tatainilai*" in Tamil works. Wars of an inter-racial or inter-regional character were numerous, and when we perceive ample references to the yavanas, we are led to conclude that there were international struggles also. Naval warfare was also in vogue as had been observed already. The lines

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1. ஏனாதி.
2. காவிதி.
3. மாராயச் சிறப்பு.
4. தகைநிலை. The meaning of this term was interpreted differently by different people. The correct meaning was for the first time expounded by Mahāvidvāṉ Bhāṣākaviśekhara Raghava Aiyangar of the Annamalai University, when he delivered a lecture under the auspices of the above University on the Hathigumpha inscription.

"ஈரெழு வேளிரும் ஒருகளத் தொழிய"
"ஒன்பது குடையு மொருபக லொழித்த"
"ஒளிறுவாண் மன்னர் தலைநிலை கொன்று"

(பதிற். 86.)

as well as the famous war in Talaiyālaṅgāṉam remind us of the united front offered by combinations of kings and chieftains in the Tamil land.

In all fights the victor indulged in plundering and laying waste the country, but with due consideration exempted the temples and places of worship as well as the quarters of Brahmans or Seers. The lines [1]"without disturbing the temples or places of worship and the residence of Brahmans" will illustrate this. This is no doubt in striking contrast to the incendiarism even now prevalent in spite of the advancement of the so-called civilisation in modern countries. The horrors perpetrated in Spain in the civil war that is being waged are painful and melancholy reading. Cathedrals and public places are said to have been burnt and the most beautiful buildings and charming works of art reduced to ashes. The dropping of deadly bombs on red-cross. buildings, hospitals and nursing homes by the Italians in the late Italo-Abyssinian war are fresh in everybody's mind.

Tombs or Hero-Stones.

Tomb or memorial stones were erected in memory of the dead warriors. These were termed [2]"Vīrakkal." To worship this stone whenever he sees it or passes by it, was the solemn duty of every warrior or fighter. The aspiration of each soldier was either to win in the fight or to fight unto death; in the latter case he will secure noble interment with a stone planted over his grave-yard and a memorial tablet recording his deeds of valour attached to it. The fixing of the stone was attended with appropriate ceremonies and we have detailed descriptions of them from the pens of old poets and bards. Offerings of food and flowers were made in front of the stone. Here are some passages

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1. "பலிபெறு நன்னகரும் பள்ளியிடனு
மொலிகெழு நான்மறையோ ரில்லு—நலிவோரீஇ"

(பு. வெ. மா.)

2. வீரக்கல்.

illustrative of the above statements. A poet sings [1]"will this hero accept this pea-cock feather which goes to adorn his memorial and the small quantity of drink that is offered to him, this hero, who refused to accept the vast country full of hills and ranges." Another poet describes thus. [2]"By the daily offering of toddy, by pouring water and by burning incense." A third one exhorts the people thus. [3]"Put up lamps in the niche of the tombstone to do honour to the hero who died in the thick of the fight after having got back the cattle that had been carried away by the enemy."

The above passages impress on us the honour due to the fallen heroes. The spirits of such heroes came to be regarded in course of time as deities by the people. This is perhaps one of the reasons for the plethora of minor deities worshipped in villages side by side with the recognised Gods of the Hindu Pantheon. Vīraṉ, Iruḷaṉ, Kāṭṭēri, Veṟiyaṉ, Pāvāṭai, and they are legion, are probably the relics of this practice of raising tombstones that existed in this remote period in the history of Dravidian India.

Arrangement of the army.

No description of any elaborate arrangement of the army in the battle-field finds mention in the ancient Sangam classics. Of course the Rāmāyāṇa and the Mahābhārata tell us of the various "Vyūhas" and the different positions of the bowmen such

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1. "நடுகற் பீலி சூட்டி நாரரி
சிறுகலத் துகுப்பவுங் கொள்வன் கொல்லோ
கோடுயர் பிறங்குமலை கெழீஇய
நாடுடன் கொடுப்பவுங் கொள்ளாதோனே"

(புறம். 232.)

2. "இல்லடு கள்ளின் நாட்பலி யூட்டி
நன்னீ ராட்டி நெய்ந்நறைக் கொளீஇ,
மங்குன் மாப்புகை மறுகுடன் கமழும்"

(*Ibid* 329.)

3. "அன்றுகொ ளாபெயர்த் தாரமரில் வீழ்ந்தோனிற்
கின்றுகொள் பல்லா னினமெல்லாங்—குன்றுமற்
செய்ம்மினோ சீர்ப்பச் சிறப்பாகத் தீபங்கள்
பெய்மினோ பீடம் வகுத்து"

as "Ālīḍham, Pratyālīḍham etc. But this absence of mention must not lead us to conclude that they were not then in vogue. We frequently come across the words "தார்" "தூசி". "கூழை" etc., (the front and the rear ranks). The various astras that are mentioned in the epics do not find a place in the old Tamil classics. The actual weapons that were in vogue have all been detailed already.

Conclusion.

To conclude, the ancient system of warfare, as described in the foregoing pages, was an elaborate and organised one. Originating chiefly from a love of fame, the king and his adherents waged wars strictly observing the rules laid down. The bold members of the warlike families who prized fame more than their lives and who were not actuated by mere mercenary motives were an asset and Tamil works are replete with their heroic exploits. Faithfulness and staunch devotion to the master or the chief characterised these heroes. The valiant acts of the heroic mothers thrill us to admiration. Side by side with the fury displayed by the warriors we see righteousness, courage and consideration. The devastation of the country was undertaken on a vast scale and the spoils of victory were great. The women captives in the war were ordered to perform menial services in the temples of the victor and other public places, irrespective of their status. Every king deemed it his duty to relieve the sufferings of people who groaned under tyrants, by subjugating the malefactor. The spoils of victory were freely distributed among the victor's adherents. As Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa has expressed in his immortal song "I know no act more sacred to a kṣattriya than a war based on righteousness" fight was deemed the holiest thing for one that came of the warrior clan. Various rules were framed to guide the warrior king, as to how he should decide what he should do in consultation with the aged ministers and others, and how he should employ messengers and spies and so on. The king must not proceed rashly on a fighting campaign[1] "without duly considering the situation at the moment, his own resources as well as the enemy's might." All these must be

1. "வினைவலியுந் தன்வலியு மாற்றான் வலியுந்
துணைவலியுந் தூக்கிச் செயல்"

(குறள். 471)

carefully weighed before he actually enters on the campaign. It was thought a wise course to be on the defensive and await the attack of his foe; for as the Kuṟaḷ says[1] "A crocodile in its own element is capable of destroying an elephant, but, when out of it, any animal can do it harm."

These rules indicate to us an orderly body of maxims of conduct in war, observed by rulers in those days. Above all it was the love of fame that was at the root of all the martial activity. Many such compaigns took place, some of them being inter-racial and inter-national too. Most of them have historical basis. The lines

"பேரிசை மரபி னாரியர் வணக்கி"
"வன் சொல் யவனர்ப் பிணித்து"
"மோரியர் தென்றிசை மாதிர முன்னிய
"வரவிற்கு மோகூர் பணியாமை யிற்பகை"

and many similar ones tell us of the various invasions from abroad by the Aryans (northerners), Yavanas, Mauryas and others. The several events in the course of the grim struggle have been mentioned already. One of the most important was the capture of the enemy's head. The warrior who fetched the head of the royal adversary was amply rewarded. This is devoted to the sub-theme—"Talai mārāyaṉ" in Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai. The valiant spirit that characterised the amazons has been already pointed out and I cannot better close this essay than by quoting the following lines from Puṟapporuḷ Venpāmālai, describing a warlike woman.[2] "My father is in the form of a hero-stone, my husband died in the battle-field, all my brothers were killed in the front, and my dear son advancing fearlessly on the enemy, in support of his patron, is lying in the field like a porcupine (*i.e.* full of missiles and arrows

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1. "நெடும்புனலுள் வெல்லு முதலை யடும்புனலு
ணீங்கி னதனைப் பிற"

(குறள். 495,)

2. "கன்னின்றா னெந்தை கணவன் களப்பட்டான்
முன்னின்று மொய்யந்தா ரென்னைவியர்—பின்னின்று
கைபோய்க் கணைவதைப்பக் காவலன் மேலோடி
யெய்போற் கிடந்தானென் ஏறு"

(பு. வெ. 83.)

sticking to his body resembling the bristles)." Thus she rightly prides herself on the distinction gained by all the members of her family. This warlike spirit of women, the separate military caste, the peculiar custom of cutting the dead body of one born of the warrior caste who happened to die anywhere other than in a battle-field and some other similar customs which were prevalent in the ancient Tamilakam may be compared favourably with those detailed by Col. Tod in his remarkable work, "The Annals of Rajasthan."

A NOTE ON NELEVĪḌU

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D.

The term *nelevīḍu* has given rise to much confusion in the field of South Indian historical research, due mainly to the lack of knowledge of modern scholars as regards its precise meaning. The tendency during the recent years is to equate it with *'rājadhānī'* or the capital of a king or a government. Alluding to a few inscriptions in which king Ballāḷa III is said to have been residing in his *'nelevīḍu'* of Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa,[1] H. Krishna Sastri declares that 'in the latter part of his reign, Ballāḷa changed his capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot District';[2] Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Heras and others have accepted his interpretation, and based on it some theories which have gained a certain amount of recognition among scholars. These writers, in fact, follow the lead of Fleet who considered this problem in one of the early volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* and reached the definite conclusion that *'nelevīḍu'* meant 'a permanent capital'. The clue to the real meaning of the term is found in one of the inscriptions of the Silāhāras noticed by Fleet where the word *sthira śibira* is used in the place of the usual *'nelevīḍu'*. He failed to grasp its real import and dismissed it from consideration with the following remarks:—

"In the Sanskrit, as in the Canarese term, we have still an apparent contradiction; since the first member of the compound *sthira* means 'firm, fixed, permanent, enduring,' while the second member, *śibira* or *śivira*, means, according to Prof. Monier Williams, 'a camp, a royal camp, royal residence, an intrenchment for the protection of the army', and therefore conveys the idea of a temporary abode. But both the words appear to occur only in connection with the names of large cities which were

1. EC ix DB. 14, 18; DV 1, 60; Ht. 124.
2. ASR 1907-8 p. 236.

permanent capitals. And in one instance we find the word *rājadhānī* which could be hardly applied to a temporary residence or halting place, coupled with *nelevīḍu*. It would seem, therefore, that *nelevīḍu* has the meaning of a 'permanent capital' rather than a temporary victorious camp."[1]

The word '*śibira*', no doubt, means a 'royal residence'; but the idea of impermanence is still inherent in it. If '*śibira*' is to be interpreted as 'royal residence', it can only mean a residence where the king happens to stay at any given time temporarily; and it cannot be taken to mean a capital.

Now, '*nelevīḍu*' or *nelavīḍu* as it is spelt in Telugu, is a term common to both Canarese and Telugu languages; in the former it is frequently met with in the inscriptions; and in the latter in literature where it is generally taken to denote permanent residence.[2] The term '*nelevīḍu*' consists of two words *nele* or in Telugu '*nela*' and *vīḍu*. The former which is etymologically connected with the Dravidian root '*nil*' means primarily 'standing'; of the several secondary meanings which are derived from it, the following, *viz.*, enduring, permanent, fixed, may be noted with advantage in this connection. The word '*vīḍu*' which is derived from the root '*viḍ*' meaning 'to stay, to halt' denotes a halting place, a camp etc. Therefore, '*nelevīḍu*' may be interpreted simply as 'permanent camp'. There is no contradiction

1. IA xii p. 111.

2. In Nanni Cōḍa's *Kumārasambhava* (5: 584) where the word is used in association with *tiṭṭa, tānaka, puṭṭinillu, kuṭamu, janmadēśamu, peṇṭa, manda, vēta naṭṭu,* and *sahavāsamu*, its meaning cannot be exactly determined.

చ॥ తలపులతిట్ట భావముల తానక మాసల పుట్టినిల్లు గో
ర్కుల నెలవీడు వల్వగలకోట మవస్థల జన్మదేశ ము
న్నలికల పెంట వేదనలమంద మనోభవుఁవేఁటనట్టు మూ
ర్ఛల సహవాస మన్విరహసంతతతాపము వొందెఁ బార్వతిన్॥

Here the word *tiṭṭa* means 'a heap'; *tānaka*, a place; *puṭṭinillu*, birth place; *kūṭam*, an assemblage; *janmadēśam*, native country; *peṇṭa* and *manda* denote a cattle pen; *vēṭanaṭṭu* signifies a hunting ground; and *sahavāsamu* means association. It is evident that it is not possible to fix the meaning of *nelavīḍu* here, though it may be taken to imply something between permanent camping ground like *peṇṭa* and *manda* and *janmadēśam*.

in the term, as it is not impossible for a camp to be permanent.[1] But there arises a difficulty when this meaning is rigorously applied to the term in all places. A camp cannot be conceived of absolutely; the concept of camp is invariably associated with men or other living beings. Now, when we read of 'a permanent camp' in an inscription, we naturally desire to know the objects with reference to which it is called a camp. The answer that is usually given to this question is that it is the permanent camp of a king. It is not explained what exactly is meant by a permanent camp, and why, if it is identical with his capital, it is not alluded to by the usual term *rājadhānī*. Moreover, this interpretation of the term '*nelevīḍu*' does not completely solve all the difficulties. The inscriptions reveal the fact that within a comparatively short period, some of the kings were residing in a dozen or more '*nelevīḍus*'. A concrete instance may serve to illustrate the statement. The Hoysala king, Ballāḷa III is said to have been living between 1329 and 1339 A.D. in the following '*nelevīḍus*'.

Reference.	Date.	Name of the Nelevīḍu.
EC ix DB 14	S. 1251	Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa.
EC v Ak 66	S. 1252	Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa.
EC xii GB 30	S. 1253	Virūpākṣa-Hosadurga.
EC ix Cp 71	S. 1253	Aruṇasamudra.
EC ix Nl 9	S. 1255	Hosabeṭṭa.
MER 401 of 1919	S. 1256	Conjeevaram.
EC ix Bn 110	S 1257	Dōrasamudra.
EC ix Ht 43	S. 1261	Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa.

It is highly improbable that all the eight places mentioned above could have been his capitals. The multiplicity of the *nelevīḍus* within a short period of ten years, precludes the possibility of his stay permanently in any one of these places. Therefore, the interpretation suggested above must be considerably modified, if it cannot be abandoned altogether.

1. It may not be without interest to note here one of the meanings given to the word 'camp', "A permanent station for the training of troops in campaigning duties generally", in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary i, p. 254.

The correctness of the meanings 'enduring, permanent, fixed' given by Fleet for *'nele'* in *'nelevīḍu'* must be accepted; for the term *'sthira'* which is employed in its stead in the Śilāhāra inscription mentioned above shows clearly that they convey the sense properly required in the context. Fleet's translation of the word *'vīḍu'* cannot however be accepted without modification; no doubt, it denotes a halting place or a camp, as explained above; but this is its primary sense; and by constant usage it came to be applied to a particular kind of camp, *viz.*, the military camp. The term is frequently used in an old Telugu literary work in this sense. Nanne Cōḍa makes use of this term in describing the camp of Skanda's army while describing its march on Tāraka:—

Having advanced with enthusiasm in this manner, the army of the Gods took up their position on the battle-field appointed formerly by the envoy of Tāraka, and halted (*viḍi senu*) on the bank of a great river.

(The men of the army engaged themselves in the following manner at that time.)

Some alighted from their vehicles; some freed (the beasts of burden) from their harness; some hoisted their ensigns to indicate their *vīḍus*; some set up temples, shops, tents and booths; some having sought suitable places, halted near pools of water or under the shade of trees; some went back to lead the stragglers, and brought them to the camp. Some wandered aimlessly in search of their *vīḍus* unable to locate them; and some who had discovered their *vīḍus* repaired to them.

Again, while relating the *vīrālāpas* (the boasts of heroes) in Skanda's camp, Nanne Cōḍa puts the following words in the mouth of one of the warriors:

"I shall turn back the heroes that come in advance of the enemy's *vīḍu* (camp or army) so that I may be regarded as the only hero in both the *vīḍus* (camps or armies).

It is evident that Cōḍa uses the word *'vīḍu'* here in a special sense; and Tikkana in his Mahābhāratam uses it in a similar

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క॥ ఈవిధమున నుత్సాహము। తో వచ్చిసురారిదూత తొలిచెప్పిన యు
ద్ధావని గైకొని విడిసెను। దేవపతాకిని మహానదీతీరమునన్॥

సీ॥ వాహనంబులుడిగ్గువారును బన్నులువిడుచువారును దమవీళు

లెఱుంగ

manner. Speaking of the activities of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava camps, on the night following the fifth day of the Great Battle, Tikkana declares that men of both *vīḍus* engaged themselves on that night, as usual, in singing and reciting poetry.[1] Again, while relating Kṛṣṇa's suggestion that the Pāṇḍavas should not tarry in the deserted Kaurava camp at the end of the Great Battle he says:—

As the *vīḍu* has become desolate, it is not meet that we should halt here; we must repair to a place free from pollution, and spend the night there in a suitable manner for the sake of prosperity and happiness. Having said this, the son of Vasudēva, with increasing affection led the sons of Pāṇḍu together with his own brother out of the *śibira*.[2]

In another context, Tikkana refers to the armies of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas actually engaged in fighting as *'vīḍus'*. Duryōdhana displayed great heroism against heavy odds a little before the death of Śakuni and his flight from the battle-field.

దమతమ చిహ్నముల్ దనరఁగఁ బట్టించువారు నొండొరుఁ బిల్చు
వారుఁ జెలఁగి
గుల్లమండియలును గూడారములును బందిళ్లును గలయ నెత్తించు
వారు
మడుగులపొందుల మ్రాకులనీడల వెరవుల గనికని విడియువారు
బిఱుఁదఁ జిక్కినవారలఁ బిలువఁ బోవు। వారు నెడగని తోడ్కొని
వచ్చువారు
వీళులెఱుఁగక దెసదప్పి వెదకువారు। నెఱిఁగి తమతమవీళ్లకు నేఁగు
వారు॥

* * * * * *

మిగుల నిన్ను నన్ను మిగులుదుననువారి। మిగిలి మాఱువీఁట
మిగిలి వచ్చు
మగలనెల్ల నేను మగడింతు నెక్కటివీరుఁ డనఁగ రెండువీళ్లయందు.
—శమా: ౧౧. ౫౨-౬౦, ౭౧.

1. Mahābhāratam (Telugu) iv (Vavilla edn.) Bhīṣmaparvam 2: 343.

2. *Ibid.* Śalyaparvam 2: 350.

While describing Duryōdhana's valorous deeds to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sañ|aya declares, 'It appeared to me that there was no warrior in both the *vīḍus* who could be considered his peer.[1]

In these passages, Tikkana uses *'vīḍu'* to signify a military camp or a camp of warriors engaged in fighting. Therefore, like *Śibira*, which Tikkana uses as its synonym, *vīḍu* must be taken to denote 'an entrenchment for the protection of the army.' Later writers employ this word to denote an army. Describing the *sandhyārāga* or the red colour spreading over the sky at dawn, Nandi Timmana likens it to the glow caused by the conflagration of the burning camp of the moon (*rāju*) which was set fire to by his servants, after he marched away with his *vīḍu*.[2] Similarly, Sankusāla Narasimha Kavi refers to the opposing armies of Rāvaṇa and Māndhātṛ arrayed in battle order and ready for fighting as *'vīḍus'*. King Māndhātṛ commanded his daṇḍa-nāyakas to arrange their forces in battle array.

They (the daṇḍanāyakas) arranged the *vīḍu* of the king in such a manner that horses, elephants, chariots and foot stood protecting one another.

When both the *vīḍus* were arrayed, Nārada's mouth watered; the *apsarasas* danced with joy; Death smacked her lips with eagerness; and the heart of the Sun cracked all over.

Having perceived the impatience of their respective *dhvajinīs* arrayed and ready for battle, Māndhātṛ and Rāvaṇa waved their hands in great anger signalling their forces to commence fighting[3]

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1. *Ibid.* Ṡalyaparvam 1 : 328.

"అప్పుడు రెండువీళ్ల నతనిపాటి మేటిమగలు లేరనుబుద్ధి నాకుం బొడమె"

2. రాజు వీడెత్తి చనినఁ దారకభటాలి యంబరాభోగనిజ
శిబిరాంగణమున
గాలుకొల్పిన పావకజ్వాల లనఁగ బ్రాచిఁ గనుపట్టెనవ
సాంధ్యరాగరుచులు॥

—పారి 2: 66.

3. * . . . దనుజసేనకుం బ్రతిగా నిజబలంబుల మాఱొడ్డుసంఘటించుటకు దండనాయకుల నియోగించిన.

It follows from this that *'vīḍu'* is used to denote the camp of an army as well as an army itself. Having regard for the early date of the inscriptions in which the term occurs, it may be taken to mean 'a permanent military camp.' It does not denote a capital, permanent or otherwise.

This view is also supported by the evidence of the inscriptions. Several epigraphs mostly dated in the Cāḷukya Vikrama era mention Kalyāṇada *nelevīḍu* or the *nelevīḍu* of Kalyāṇa.[1] One of the epigraphs at Kolanupāka which is in Sanskrit has *skandhāvāra* in the place of *'nelevīḍu.'*

> "Śrīmat Tribhuvanamalla Vallabhō Śrī
> Kalyāṇapura nivēśita nija vijaya skandhā
> Vāre sukhēna rājyasukham anubhāvatē."[2]

It is not unreasonable to take the *'skandhāvāra* of this inscription as the equivalent of the *'nelevīḍu'* mentioned in the others, and translate it into English as a cantonment.

క॥ హరికరిఁ గరిహరి హరికరు। లరద మరదము కరిహరుల హరికరి
రథముల్
పురుషునిఁ బురుషుఁడు రథకరి। హరులం గాచికొనఁ బన్నిరధిపతి
వీటన్॥

ఉ॥ వీళ్లవి రెండుఁ బన్నుఁడు దివిం గలహాశనమాని చూడ్కులు
వ్రీళ్లుగొనంగఁ జొచ్చె నలవేల్పు పడంతుల నెమ్మనంబు పిం
పిండ్లొగిఁ గూయఁ జొచ్చె దమి పెక్కువ మృత్యువు బ్రమింగఁ జొచ్చె గ్రు
క్కిళ్లవియంగఁ జొచ్చె రవికిం హృదయం బఖిలంబు నయ్యెడన్॥

గీ॥ పన్ని వేగిరించు పరనిజధ్వజినులఁ, జూచి కోపమేచి త్రోచి యపుడు
పోరనొండొకంటఁ బొడుచుట కవనీశ, విబుధరిపులు గేలువిడుచుట
యును.

—కవిక 2: 148-151.

1. The Teliṅgāṇa Inscriptions: Chālukya Inscriptions Nos. 5, 6, 10; 22, 25, 28, 29, 30; (No. 15 *Rājadhānī Kalyāṇapura nilavīḍu*).

2. *Ibid*. No. 42.

MĀNAMANOHARA.

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Aufrecht mentions *Mānamanohara* as a Mīmāṁsā work by Vāgīśvara (Cat. Cat. I, p. 451 a). He also says that *Mānamanohara* is quoted by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* and by Citsukha in his *Pratyaktattvapradīpikā*. My attempt in the following is to collect all available information about this author, discuss his date and try to reconstruct some of the views generally attributed to him.

On p. 106 of the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* there is a reference to a view held in the *Mānamanohara* regarding the eternality of sound. The text is:—

तथा च

प्रत्यभिज्ञा यदा शब्दे जागर्ति निरवग्रहा ।
अनित्यत्वानुमानानि सैव सर्वाणि बाधते ॥

एतेनेदमप्यपास्तम्, यदवादि वागीश्वरेण मानमनोहरे—अनित्यः शब्दः, इन्द्रियविशेषगुणत्वात्, चक्षूरूपवत्—इति ।

This clearly shows that the author of the *Mānamanohara* held sound as non-eternal, unlike the Mīmāṁsakas, with whom sound is eternal. Perhaps the occurrence of *Mānamanohara* in the Jaiminidarśana of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, led Aufrecht to suppose that work to belong to Pūrva-mīmāṁsā. This is not so. It is a Vaiśeṣika work, and what is sought by Mādhava here is only to refute the views of the nyāya-vaiśeṣika regarding the eternality of sound. The unmistakable terms in which the author of the *Nayanaprasādinī* condemns *Mānamanoharakāra* clearly show that it was a Vaiśeṣika work and did not belong to Pūrvamīmāṁsā:—

एवं चैतादृशमुत्तरदानं पिण्याकयाचिने खारिकातैलदानं वा सकललोकवेदनिन्दितवैशेषिकदर्शनमदिरामत्ताय मरणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तरूपतीव्रतरतर्कतप्तमदिराधारादानं वेत्यात्मनि परिभावय इत्यलम् ।

(न. प्र. p. 170, Nir. Sag. Edn.)

Thus we see that *Mānamanohara* is the name of a Vaiśeṣika work written by Vādivāgīśvara. Most of the available references

to him give not his name but usually refer to him as Mānamanoharakāra. In a few places he is referred to by his name also. His name is differently pronounced as Vādivāgīśvara or simply as Vāgīśvara. And the work too is either called *Mānamanohara* or simply *Manohara*. In a few cases the author too is referred to as *Manohara*.

Regarding the date of Vāgīśvara, we have to rely upon external sources. The work, *Mānamanohara*, is not yet available even in manuscript form.[1] Mādhava refers to him in his *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*. Citsukha (1200 A.D.) in his *Pratyaktattvapradīpikā* cites some of the views held by the author of the *Mānamanohara* and refutes them in his own way. Many such points are made clear by the commentator, Pratyaksvarūpabhagavān in his *Nayanaprasādinī*.

A slightly earlier reference to *Mānamanohara* is found in the works of Ānandānubhava, pupil of Nārāyaṇa Jyotis and author of *Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa*, *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*, *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* etc. Ānandānubhava refers to Ānandabodha's views and his *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* is mentioned in *Citsukhī* according to the commentator. So that the chronological position of Ānandānubhava is between Ānandabodha and Citsukha. I have elsewhere[2] tried to place Ānandānubhava about 1100 A.D.

Now from the very contemptuous phrases[3] used by Ānandānubhava in condemning the author of the *Mānamanohara*, it is evident that he might have been almost Ānandānubhava's contemporary or at least not very far removed from him. This would bring the author of the *Mānamanohara* to almost the same period as Ānandānubhava; perhaps he might have lived a little earlier, *i.e.*, Mānamanoharakāra would have flourished somewhere in the middle of the 11th century A.D.

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1. *See Tarkasaṅgraha* (G. O. S. Edn.), Introduction p. xviii, where Mr. Tripathi mentions one Ms. at Śrīnāthaji's temple at Nāthadvāra.

See also p. 40 of S. R. Bhandarkar's Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. in Rajaputana and Central India. The ms. is said to belong to the Chief Maharaja of Nāthadvāra near Udaipur and it is dated Samvat 1547, *i.e.*, 1490 A.D.

2. In a paper entitled 'Ānandānubhava and his works' shortly to be published.

3. मानमनोहरकर्तृशरीरं एतज्जनकागर्दभेतरजन्यम्, कार्यत्वात्, कुम्भवत् इत्यपि तेन अनुमीयेत (p. 81 of Ānandānubhava's *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, Madras Ms. R. No. 2981.)

A superior limit to the date of the author of *Mānamanohara* can be fairly arrived at. On. p. 29 of the *Nayanaprasādinī*, Pratyaksvarūpa introduces Mānamanohara's arguments with regard to darkness. Vāgīśvara, like the Vaiśeṣikas, held *tamas* not as a separate entity but as only the absence of light. Pratyaksvarūpa refers to *Mānamanohara* as quoting the authority of 'Nātha' in support of his view. The reference may be given in full:—

यदाह मानमनोहरः—तमसि प्रमाणाभावमुपन्यस्य, 'नीलं तमः' इति प्रतीतिः प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न; नीलबुद्ध्यसिद्धेः । उक्तं **नाथेनापि—अप्रतीतावपि प्रतीतिभ्रमो मन्दानाम्**—इति । यत्तु तेनैवोक्तम् 'कथं तर्हि पदप्रयोगः ?' इति चेत्, सिताभावे उपचारात्, 'असितं नीलम् इति हि लौकिकः प्रयोगः' इति । तदेतदनुवादपूर्वकं दूषयति—न चायमित्यादि ।

(See न. प्र. p. 29.)

The word 'Nātha' may refer to either Śālikanātha or Bhavanātha. Whereas Pratyaksvarūpa refers to both Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha, it may seem uncertain whether this Nātha is to be understood as referring to Śālikanātha or Bhavanātha.

In all the places[1] where Pratyaksvarūpa refers to Bhavanātha, Bhavanātha is either mentioned fully by his name or mentioned as Nayavivekakāra, in terms of his work. But while referring to Śālikanātha, frequently the word 'Nātha' occurs, so that it does not altogether seem improbable to suppose that unprefixed Nātha as used by Pratyaksvarūpa invariably denoted only Śālikanātha. Further when Nātha is cited as an authority, there is every reason to suppose this word to refer to the mūlapramāṇakāra, instead of Bhavanātha, who came after Śālikanātha and who followed Śālika's views.[2] This supposition of mine is fully confirmed when I found out from Śālikanātha's *Prakaraṇapañcikā* a portion of the text of which the above reference—uktam Nāthenāpi 'apratītau api pratīti-bhramo mandānām'—can justly claim to be a pratīka. To make the point transparently clear I shall give below the relevant portion of the *Prakaraṇapañcikā*:—

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1. See न. प्र. pp. 86, 88, 97-99, 102.

2. See *Nayaviveka*, Introductory verse 3, where he refers to Śālikanātha.

महता प्रणिधानेन शक्यमेव विधान्तरम् ।
लोकानुमतमित्येव शालिकोक्तं प्रसाध्यते ॥

यः पुनर्निशि नीलिमेवावलोक्यते, नासौ नभसः । कस्य तर्हि ? न कस्यचित् । कथं पुनर्गुणो न कस्यचित् ? सत्यम् । गुण एवायमप्रसिद्धः । ननु प्रतीतिबलेन सिद्ध एव । सिध्येत् यदि प्रसिद्धिरेव सिध्यत् । सा तु कारणाभावान्न सिद्धा । ननु चक्षुरेव कारणम् । न ; आलोकोपकारानपेक्षस्य चक्षुषः अप्रकाशकत्वात् । तेन अप्रतीतावेव अयं प्रतीतिभ्रमो मन्दानाम् । अत एव दिवा अनुपलम्भः ।

(*Prakaraṇapañcikā*, Tattvālokaprakaraṇa, p. 143 of Ch. S. Series.)

Thus it can be fairly assumed that Mānamanoharakāra flourished after Śālikanātha.

Now the question is what is the date of Śālikanātha? There are differences of opinion on this subject. Tradition tells us that Śālikanātha was a disciple of Prabhākara. M.M. Gopināth Kavirāj interprets the words—gauḍa mīmāṁsaka—found in *Kusumāñjali* to be referring to Śālikanātha, on the authority of Varadarāja (See *Kusumāñjalibodhanī*, Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts No. 4. Intro. pp. vii-ix). So far it is correct. But how he proceeds to make Śālikanātha Udayana's contemporary does not seem to be sound. He elsewhere[1] says 'it is therefore probable that Śālika belonged to the middle of the 10th century'. This conclusion seems to be not very sound. From Udayana's reference to Śālika, what best can be concluded is that Śalikanātha flourished before Udayana, that is all. How can it make Śālika Udayana's contemporary?

One thing is certain, that Śālika came after Maṇḍana. This is evidenced by Śālikanātha's quotation of some of the extracts from Maṇḍana's works. (*See* Appendix V to the Edition of *Brahmasiddhi.*) A very pointed reference is to be found in Śālika's quoting a verse of the *Brahmasiddhi*, labdharūpe etc., and criticising it.

The words that Śālikanātha uses while refuting Maṇḍana's views—tatra anyaḥ paṇḍitam-manyo manyate—(p. 28 of the *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, Ch. Edn.); advaitābhimānī tu bhavān ātyantikam eva niṣedham abhilaṣyati. so'yam ātmīya eva bāṇo bhavantam praharati. labdharūpe kvacid kiñcid (p. 155 of *Prakaraṇa-*

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1. Des. Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Govt. Sarasvatī Bhavana Library, Benares, Vol. I. Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Introduction p. iii.

pañcikā) etc., would be sufficient to make us infer that Śālikanātha was not far removed from Maṇḍana. M.M. Kuppuswami Sastriar in his Introduction to *Brahmasiddhi* (p. lviii) places Śālikanātha between 650-730 A.D. For Mānamanoharakāra to cite Śālikanātha as an authority, would possibly imply that by that time Śālika was accepted as an authority. It would be reasonable to assume a period of about 50 years for this, and thus the superior limit to Mānamanoharakāra's date would be somewhere about 780 A.D.

As previously said, the inferior limit is before Ānandānubhava (1100 A.D.). Thus the author of the *Mānamanohara* can fairly be placed between 780-1100 A.D. To push these limits closer will be risky at the present stage of our information. He may be later than Udayana. But as no definite data to this are available, nothing certain can be said about it.

Thus much regarding the date of Mānamanoharakāra. Now I shall proceed to set forth some of the views ascribed to him and as found in later works.

In connection with the discussion of the nature of anubhūti (experience) Citsukha introduces different views held by various schools of thought and refutes them one by one finally establishing the superiority of the Advaitic standpoint. For the advaitins, anubhūti is svataḥ-siddha, self-established. The Naiyāyikas hold that if anubhūti be held as self-established, so far as experience is concerned, it will cease to be a vastu, padārtha, entity or object, because it is no more a vedya (knowable). For, with them knowability is the test of predicability. In answer to this it need be said that vedyatva (knowability) does not prove objectivity, for the simple reason that objectness and knowability are not invariably connected. Further it is not knowability that establishes vastutva, but sphuraṇa or prakāśamānatva.

Here the author of the *Nayanaprasādinī* refers to an anumāna put forth by the author of the *Mānamanohara* as follows:

एतेन एतदप्यपास्तम्, यदाह मानमनोहरकारः 'ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षवेद्यम्, वस्तुत्वात्, घटवत्' इति ।

(न. प्र. p. 18)

From this we have to suppose that Vāgīśvara, like the Naiyāyikas, also held parataḥ prāmāṇya of knowledge and sup-

posed the validity of a cognition to be known by perception even as a jar is experienced.

Nayanaprasādinī p. 21 gives another view held by the author of the *Mānamanohara*:—

तथा हि मानमनोहरकारेण वादिवागीश्वरेण आत्मप्रकरणे—विवादाध्यासितं बोधाधारजन्यम्, कार्यत्वात्, चेष्टादिवत्—इत्यनुमानं व्यर्थविशेषणेनापि शरीरिजन्यत्वव्यतिरेकेण 'विवादाध्यासितं बोधाधारजन्यं न भवति, शरीर्यजन्यत्वात्' इति सत्प्रतिपक्ष्यते स्म ।

Citsukhī p. 22 has the following reference to Mānamanoharakāra:—

'न हि द्रष्टुः दृष्टेः विपरिलोपो विद्यते' इति द्रष्टृदृश्ययोः सम्बन्धः श्रुतित एवाधिगत इति मानमनोहरकारः प्रातिष्ठिपत् इति चेत्, मैवम् ।

This is what Citsukha says about the svaprakāśatva (self-luminosity) of ātman, summarising his arguments in a verse:—

चिद्रूपत्वादकर्मत्वात् स्वयंज्योतिरिति श्रुतेः ।
आत्मनः स्वप्रकाशत्वं को निवारयितुं क्षमः ॥

Citsukha raises the objection put forth by Vāgīśvara regarding the self-luminosity of ātman. The objection arises thus: Where does jñāna reside? Evidently the answer will be in ātman. If so, ātman and consciousness are related as qualification and the qualified and ātman will no more be sarvajña, or of the nature of intelligence. *Mānamanohara* anticipates a difficulty here by way of a counter-objection. Jñāna does not reside in ātman, but it has its locus in jñāna alone, just as existence. The possibility of this counter-objection is set aside soon. There is a school of thought which holds jñāna not as an attribute of ātman, but ātman itself. With respect to them no relation between jñāna and ātman can be said to exist, for they are one and the same. Thus the āśraya for jñāna is asiddha and the doubt which has for its basis ātman as the substrate of consciousness does not at all arise.

The author of the *Mānamanohara* is credited with another objection. He says that Śruti itself gives the relation between draṣṭā and dṛṣṭi and thus how can āśrayāsiddhi for jñāna be held?

This objection also falls to the ground, if the Śruti referred to by him be correctly interpreted. The text of the Śruti—

न हि द्रष्टुः दृष्टेः विपरिलोपो विद्यते, (Bṛh. IV—3-23.)

does not speak of any relation between consciousness and ātman. On the other hand, it simply says that dṛṣṭi, vision or knowledge is avināśī, without destruction. For this it takes up the relation between ātman and jñāna, that is all. But the real purport of the Śruti text here is not to establish the relation between ātman and knowledge as wrongly supposed by Vāgīśvara. If the Śruti be held to convey that sense, then advaita will disappear. Then how to explain the relation between ātman and jñāna? The relation is not real. It is only a secondary one as in the case of rāhoś śiraḥ. Though Rāhu has got only the head and no body, *i.e.*, the head is not in any way different fron Rāhu, still there is the common usage as the head of Rāhu. In a similar way, when we say that ātman is the seat of jñāna, no real adhikaraṇatva in ātman is meant. The adhikaraṇatva is only a secondary one.

Further, if the difference between Īśvara and jīva be accepted, who is to be held as related to dṛṣṭi? It cannot be jīva for want of nitya-jñāna. The author of the *Mānamanohara* said that this śruti relates nitya-jñāna with Īśvara. This explanation of the text is not satisfactory. For when the whole text is properly understood in its context, the śruti emphasises the eternality of jñāna and does not speak anything about its relation to Īśvara. Thus the original syllogism—jñānātmanoḥ sambandhaḥ anātmaniṣṭhaḥ—remains still as āśrayāsiddha. This is indicated when in *Nayanaprasādinī* we read

तेनात्र ईश्वरज्ञानस्य कारणरहिततायाम् इमां श्रुतिं प्रमाणयन् वादिवागीश्वरोऽप्युपहसितः ।

(p. 23.)

Citsukhī p. 24. न च अधिकरणपरतया ज्ञानशब्दो योज्यः, अद्वैतश्रुतिविरोधात् ।

The commentary on this runs:—

यत्तु मानमनोहरकृता उक्तम् 'ज्ञानशब्दश्च ज्ञायते अस्मिन् इति अधिकरणवचनः' इति, तद्दूषयति, न चेति ।

Pāṇini has the sūtra, करणाधिकरणयोश्च (III. 3. 117). This means that *'lyuṭ'* functions both when an instrument or locus is implied. Thus the word *jñāna* can be interpreted either as ज्ञायते अनेन or ज्ञायते अस्मिन्. In places like विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म, प्रज्ञानं

ब्रह्म, प्रज्ञानघन एव etc., which clearly speak of the identity of ātman with *jñāna*, the author of the *Mānamanohara* held ātman as the seat of knowledge accepting the *'lyuṭ'* in the sense of *adhikaraṇa*. This view is incorrect, for it will contradict texts like *Tat tvam asi*, *Ahaṁ brahma asmi*, etc.

Nay. pr. p. 29. यदाह मानमनोहरः तमसि प्रमाणाभावमुपन्यस्य । 'नीलं तमः' इति प्रतीतिः प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न; नीलबुद्ध्यसिद्धेः । उक्तं नाथनापि (Śālikanātha)—अप्रतीतावपि प्रतीतिभ्रमो मन्दानाम्—इति ।

यत्तु तेनैवोक्तम्—कथं तर्हि पदप्रयोगः ? इति चेत्, सिताभावे उपचारात् ; 'असितं नीलमिति हि लौकिकः प्रयोगः'—इति । तदेतदनुवाद-पूर्वकं दूषयति—न चायं इत्यादि ।

The Vaiśeṣikas do not hold darkness as a positive concept. For them darkness does not convey any positive idea, but it means only absence of light. Citsukha refutes their arguments and wants to establish darkness as a separate entity. He substantiates his position in the following verse:

तमालश्यामलज्ञाने निर्बाधे जाग्रति स्फुटे ।
द्रव्यान्तरं तमः कस्मात् अकस्मादपलप्यते ॥

The author of the *Mānamanohara* also denied *tamas* a separate entity in accordance with his Vaiśeṣika bias. How to explain the experience of *nīlam tamaḥ*? He says that the colour-sense in darkness is a case of *bhrama* and cites Śālikanātha in support. The usage *nīlam tamaḥ* can be explained as a case of *upacāra*, or secondary significance.

Further if at all *tamas* is to be accepted as a separate *padārtha*, it should be the object (*viṣaya*) of a cognition. That is not the case. For an object consists of parts, which are themselves different from the whole. This is his (Mānamanohara-kāra's) definition of *viṣayatva*.

उक्तं च मानमनोहरकारेण—शरीरेन्द्रियव्यतिरिक्तः अवयवी हि विषयः—इति (See न. प्र. p. 30.)

This argument, according to the advaitins, is not valid. For with them, *tamas* is not begun by the small particles of darkness, as the Vaiśeṣikas would have it. But *tamas* is suddenly brought in operation or springs up suddenly from Mūlāvidyā, even as

lightning from the clouds. Thus the definition of *viṣayatva* so far as darkness is concerned, does not hold good, and consequently Mānamanohara's objection to the *viṣayatva* (objectivity) of darkness is unsound.

Nay. pr. 32. भट्टनये कालादीनामपि तथात्वात् (पदार्थत्वात्) यथाह मानमनोहरकारः—विवक्षिता साधनं च—इति ।

This makes it possible for us to infer that, like Bhāṭṭas, Vāgīśvara also accepted time (*kāla*) as a *padārtha* (separate entity).

Nay. pr. 51. ननु एकशब्दो न सजातीयनिषेधपरः ; अपि तु एकत्वसंख्याभिधानपरः । यथाह मानमनोहरकारः— एकत्वसंख्यामाचष्टे, तत्रैव लोके व्युत्पत्तः, लोकशक्तेश्च वेदे बोधकत्वात्—इति ।

यत्तु तेनैवोक्तम—आनन्त्यं पुनरुभयान्ताभाव एव, तत्रैव लोके व्युत्पत्तेः—इति, तदप्यनूद्य दूषयति—आनन्त्यमपि इति ।

While discussing the appearance or phenomenal nature of the cosmos, Citsukha quotes the scripture—*ekam eva advitīyam*—as a *pramāṇa*, proof of it. Here the author of the *Mānamanohara* is referred to as holding a different opinion with regard to the interpretation of the word *'eka'* found in the *śruti*. While others opine that the word *'eka'* occurring by the side of *'advitīya'* negatives duality of a similar type (सजातीयद्वित्वनिषेधपर), Mānamanoharakāra is not prepared to accept it. He says that the word *'eka'* here speaks of the singular number, because in common usage in the world the word *'eka'* conveys only the idea of singularity. And what ordinary experience comprehends has its significance in scriptures too.

This view does not sound well. For in cases where no number comes to operate, we have usages like *ekam rūpam, ekā saṁkhyā, eko'bhāvaḥ*, etc.

The word *'ananta'* has been interpreted by Mānamanoharakāra as negating the two ends (limits). This is also not good. For in the usage—*nityam ākāśam anantam*—if the word *'ananta'* is to set aside the prior and subsequent limits, temporal and spacial units of existence with respect to *ākāsa*, it does not speak anything different from the significance of the word *'nitya'*. This means a redundancy of the words, *nitya* and *ananta*.

Nay. pr. 76. इमामर्थापत्तिं मानमनोहरकारोक्तान्यथानुपपत्त्या दूषयति—न देशान्तरेत्यादिना ।

In the discussion of *anirvacanīyatva*, Citsukha starts with a refutation of all possible definitions of it. As a matter of fact, *anirvacanīyatva* is not to be understood as unpredicability by all means, but as Ānandagiri points out, it is the want of logical exactitude in all the possible definitions of *anirvacanīyatva*, put forth by others.

येन येन प्रकारेण परो निर्वक्तुमिच्छति ।
तेन तेनात्मनायोगः तदनिर्वाच्यता मता ॥

(*Tarkasaṅgraha*, G. O. S. p. 136.)

After setting aside all definitions of *anirvacanīyatva* put forth by various thinkers, Citsukha strikes at the very *pramāṇa* of *mithyātva*. First in giving the *prima facie* view he says that *anirvacanīyatva* is indefinable. Secondly he says that it is not logical. Thus *anirvacanīya-padārtha* cannot be established for want of definition as well as proof. For the *nyāya* goes 'लक्षणप्रमाणाभ्यां हि वस्तुसिद्धिः'.

Citsukha here introduces *arthāpatti* (presumption) as a proof of *anirvacanīyatva* as follows:—

असतो नरश्रृङ्गादेः अख्यानात्, सतश्च चिदात्मनो बाधाभावात्, उभयस्य च इह दर्शनात् ।

This is a verbatim reproduction in prose of what the Iṣṭasiddhi contains:—

असतः ख्यात्ययोगात् सत् बाधायोगादसत् सतः ।
अतोऽनिर्वचनीयं तदिति पक्षेषु युक्तयः ॥

(*Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. 39.)

The author of the *Mānamanohara* is referred to as finding objection to this sort of presumption. He contends as follows. In places like *Śukti-rajata*, '*asat*' may not exist *here*, but it can safely reside elsewhere; for in the particular place as specified by *atra* there is no *khyāti* or *bhāna* of *asat*. *Bādha* (sublation) is possible, not in the particular form derived by the advaitins, but in a different manner. Further, what is said—असतो भानम् अनुपपन्नम्—is unreasonable. Because, when we use the word *asat*, some idea is conveyed by it. Otherwise the word will have

to be deprived of its capacity to convey the idea, which naturally leads to the denial of any sense to any word or sentence.

Further what is *sat* ? Is it that which has *sattā*, or is it *abādhya*, or does it mean *brahmasvarūpa*? Obviously the first alternative cannot be held. For in the advaitin's line of thought, this universe is accepted to have *sattā* and the same is said to be *bādhya* too. This according to the realistic Mānamanoharakāra is a contradictory statement. For as he points out, if it be held that what is (exists) cannot be sublated, the cosmos or प्रपञ्च, in so far as it has been given *sattā*, could not be denied existence. This would mean that *prapañca* could not be sublated at a later moment. Thus the invariable concomitance between *sat* and *abādhya* falls to the ground.

Nor does the second alternative hold good. That is, *sat* cannot be said to mean *abādhya*. If so, the word *abādhya* will be a synonym for *sat*, in which case, instead of saying यत् सत्, तदबाध्यम्, it can very well be said यदबाध्यं तदबाध्यम्. This makes no difference between the establisher and what is sought to be established.

The third alternative, *sat* is *brahmasvarūpa*, also is faulty; for it is *siddhasādhana*. By this Vāgīśvara means to say that the realists also do accept *sattā* (reality or existence) to Brahman, and what the advaitin seeks to establish by saying *sat* is *brahmasvarūpa*, is already known to them. Thus the advaitin's argument loses its value, since it does not establish any new fact, previously unknown to the realists. That is to say, the contention *sat* is *brahmasvarūpa*, becomes invalidated, in so far as it does not satisfy the conditions of a *pramāṇa* (अज्ञातार्थज्ञापक).

Arthāpatti generally has got three defects. They are, अन्यथैवोपपत्ति, अन्यथाप्युपपत्ति and अनुदय. Having illustrated *anyathaivopapatti* and *anudaya* above, Mānamanoharakāra puts forth his reasons in favour of *anyathāpyupapatti*.

सद्विलक्षणत्वे नृश्रृङ्गवत् ख्यात्यनुपपत्तेः, असद्विलक्षणत्वे च आत्मवत् बाधायोगात्, उभयविलक्षणस्य उभयानुपपत्तेः इति ।

That is to say,

सद्वैलक्षण्ये असद्वैलक्षण्ये उभयवैलक्षण्ये च अनुपपद्यमानाभ्यां ख्यातिबाधाभ्यां सदसदात्मकत्वमेव रजतादेः सिद्धयति इत्यर्थः ।

(See न. प्र. p. 76.)

That is, the author of the *Mānamanohara* holds nacre-silver as *sad-asat* and not as *anirvacanīya.*

To answer these objections put forth by Mānamanoharakāra, we need not go very far. The line of argument adopted by Vāgīśvara clearly brings forth his realistic bent of mind. He fails to reconcile himself to the different degrees of *sattā* accepted by the advaitins. This is entirely due to his ultra-realistic attitude. Thus in the final stage of Brahman-realisation, though the *prapañca* previously had an empirical existence and value, valid for all practical worldly purposes, it can have no real *sattā* (पारमार्थिकसत्ता) which is on a par with the *sattā* of Brahman. When the advaitins say that Brahman alone is *paramārthasat*, they should not be understood as totally denying existence for all others except Brahman. The *sattā* that they deny to others is only the *pāramārthikasattā*. As a matter of fact, in cases like nacre-silver, which are clear examples of *bhrama* (illusory cognition) a true advaitin does not feel reluctant to assign *sattā* to the nacre-silver also. But this *sattā* is only *prātibhāsika*. That is, the nacre-silver will appear to have existence, only so far as the *pratibhāsa* (appearance) of nacre-silver continues to last. The moment the *bādhakajñāna* (sublating cognition) comes, everything regarding the appearance and reality of nacre-silver vanishes and one feels convinced that what appeared before as silver was only a piece of shell and the whole appearance was a delusion. Even as this, when Brahma-jñāna sets in, one realises that what appeared as *prapañca* and as real for all the practical occupation of worldly life, was only *vyāvahārika* (empirical) and the one eternal entity is Ātman and Ātman alone.

Again, in answer to the arguments put forth by Mānamanoharakāra in favour of the *sad-asad-ātmakatva* of nacre-silver, this much can be said. If सद्विलक्षणत्व is प्रयोजक to ख्यात्यनुपपत्ति, it will result always in what is called *gaurava. Vailakṣaṇya,* dissimilarity or difference posits necessarily a counter-correlate (*pratiyogin*), and *sadvailakṣaṇa* also implies many such ones. In a similar manner as *asadvailakṣaṇya* also posits more than one counter-correlate. So much so, for the sake of ease in understanding things (economy of effort, *lāghava*) *sat* and *asat* alone should be held as *prayojakas* with respect to *bādhānupapatti* and *bhānānupapatti* respectively.

The author of the *Mānamanohara* seems to have not lost sight of this fact. And he said:

असतोऽपि तत्पदात् (*i. e.* असत्पदात्) प्रतिभानेन, सतोऽपि प्रपञ्चस्य बाध्यत्वदर्शनेन उक्तोत्तरत्वात् ।

This evidently indicates his repeating his अन्यथोपपत्ति in answer to this counter-objection. Finally Mānamanohara-kāra concludes that the particular postulation (*arthāpatti*) put forth with a view to prove *anirvacanīyatva*—

असतो नरशृङ्गादेः अख्यानात् etc.—

fails to establish *mithyātva*.

A refutation of all the points of Vāgīśvara would necessitate an elaborate and lengthy discussion of the topic of *anirvacanīya-tva*, for which this is no place or occasion. I shall try to deal with it in a separate paper.

Nay. Pr. p. 169. Another important place where the author of the *Mānamanohara* comes in is in connection with the discussion of *bheda*. The second chapter of *Citsukhī* opens with an inquiry into the nature of *bheda*. Giving some *prima facie* views, Citsukha sets forth his arguments thus:

सापेक्षत्वात् सावधेश्च तत्त्वेऽद्वैतप्रसङ्गतः ।
एकाभावादसन्देहान्न रूपं वस्तुनो भिदा ॥

That is, difference (*bheda*) is not the form of the differed (न तावत् स्वरूपं भेदः). Arguing this point at some length, he takes up the question, how to experience *bheda*?

तस्मात् न स्वरूपभेदे प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम् । तथा धर्मभेदेऽपि—
युगपद्ग्रहणायोगात् अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गतः ।
परस्पराश्रयत्वाच्च धर्मभेदेऽपि नाक्षधीः ॥

Perception is not the means of comprehending *bheda*.

In places like *surabhi candanam*, fragrance is a quality which can be experienced by the nose alone, and *candana*, sandalwood is to be cognised by the eyes. This means that sandalwood and fragrance are not comprehensible by one and the same sense. In this case how to explain the experience of fragrant sandalwood? The answer is: Both are separately cognised and subsequently there is the experience of fragrant

sandalwood, resulting out of the experience of one cognition being qualified and the other being qualifier; that is to say, in the final state of knowledge, that the sandalwood is fragrant, the exact nature of the *pratīti* (cognition) is *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya-bhāva-pratīti.* It is the cognition of a qualified experience (*viśiṣṭa-jñāna*).

Similarly, in the case of *bheda* also, there are two separate notions, *dharmin* and its *pratiyogin*, and what is really conveyed by *bheda* is the *viśiṣṭa-pratīti* (qualified experience) of the *dharmin* and its counter-correlate. Both the *dharmin* and its *pratiyogin* cannot be simultaneously cognised. That is to say, difference is not a unitary cognition.

It cannot also be said that there is difference between *bheda* and *bhedin.* For this leads to *anavasthā.* The difference between *bheda* and *bhedin* would also stand in need of another difference to establish it; this difference in its turn will require another difference, and so on endlessly. It does not also benefit us to say that this *anavasthā* is not a fault, when a series of such *bhedas* is postulated. For the very concept of *bheda* takes the form—

इदमतो भिन्नम् , or अनयोर्भेदः.

(A is different from B, or difference is between A and B.) This implies two concepts and hence the resulting cognition of *bheda* is a qualified cognition. Thus the second *bheda* stands related to the first, the third to the second and so on. And no two *bhedas* are brought together to be experienced simultaneously. This results in not knowing *bheda* at all. That is, by accepting difference between *bheda* and *bhedin,* what is sought to be established (*bheda*) is not proved. In other words, the acceptance of *bheda* between a *bheda* and its *bhedin* to establish the concept of difference logically, cuts at the very root of the argument.

Here the author of the *Mānamanohara* is introduced holding his own view as follows:

अत्र मानमनोहरकारो नृत्यति स्म—न च भेदानवस्था बाधिका, भेदान्तरप्रसक्तौ मूलाभावात् , भेदभेदिनौ भिन्नौ इति व्यवहारदर्शनात् । न च एकभेदबलेन अन्यभेदानुमानम् , दृष्टान्तभेदाविघातेन उत्थाने दोषाभावात् । सोऽयं पिण्याकयाचनार्थं गतस्य पाचिनः खारिकातैलदातृत्वाभ्युपगम इव दृष्टान्तभेदविमर्दे तु अनुत्थानमेव, उपजीव्यस्य प्रबलत्वेन बाधात् ,

स्वात्मव्याघातकत्वेन जात्युत्तरत्वात् च । एतेन दृश्यत्वादयो निरस्ताः । न च अनिर्वचनीयत्वं भेदस्य, तत्र प्रमाणाभावात्—इति गायनः ।

(न. प्र. p. 169.)

Ānandagiri also in his commentary on Ānandānubhava's *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, refers to this point; but he does not mention the author either by his name or in terms of his work.

यत्तु—भेदानवस्था न बाधिका, भेदान्तरप्रसक्तौ मानाभावात्—इति, तदसत् । भेदोऽपि विशेषणाभावेन भाति । न स भेदमन्तरेण एकत्रादृष्टः; सोऽपि तथैवेति भेदान्तरप्रसक्तौ तत्प्रतीतिरेव मूलम् ।

(See p. 190 of Madras Ms. of Ānandagiri's *Tarkaviveka* R. 4342.)

The *anavasthā* pointed out above, does not in any way endanger the concept of *bheda*; for there is no *pramāṇa* to hold a second *bheda*. Further, everybody is well aware of the common experience and usage that *bheda* and *bhedin* are diffe ent and are not one. Nor can a second *bheda* be inferred on the authority of one *bheda*. Thus if difference between *bheda* and *bhedin* is sought to be refuted on the ground of *anavasthā* it is not possible. For the *anavasthā* springs up only later. The first *bheda* is more powerful than the second, for it happens to be the *upajīvya*. Thus *anavasthāpādana* with regard to *bheda* is not reasonable. *Bheda* cannot also be said to be *anirvacanīya*, for lack of sound reasons. This is the position of Mānamanohara-kāra.

The argument of Mānamanoharakāra does not hold any water. As has been said above, the *bhedānavasthā* cannot be successfully got over by him. Further, his contention that because there are no proofs for *anirvacanīyatva* difference cannot be held as *anirvacanīya*, also has no claim to soundness, for *anirvacanīyatva* can be successfully maintained on strictly logical basis. I do not propose to enter into this topic now, because it is very wide and can claim a separate treatment.

Still another view is that *bheda* is that which has separateness (*pṛthaktva*) for its quality. This is known as the *pṛthaktva-pakṣa*. This view too is unsound. For *pṛthaktva* is a quality and *bheda* is another quality. One *guṇa* cannot be the seat of another *guṇa*. Colour (*rūpa*) cannot be the substrate of smell (*gandha*). Thus difference (*bheda*) itself being a *guṇa*, *dharma*,

it can never be the substrate (*āśraya*) for another dharma, *viz.*, *pṛthaktva*.

Nay. pr. 173. अत्र मानमनोहरस्थमनुमानं शङ्कते 'अथाकाशः' इति ।

Mānamanoharakāra seems to have said thus. Accepting the *ārambhavāda* of the Vaiśeṣikas, he said that even as *ākāśa* is the seat of a *dharma, viz., ekatva,* why not *pṛthaktva* be seated in difference? In answer to this the advaitin has to say only so much. The origin of a *kārya* (effect) by the operation of causes, *samavāyi, asamavāyi* and *nimitta*, is accepted only by the *ārambhavādins.* For those who accept Ātman alone as real and all others including *ākāśa* to be only the transformations of *avidyā* (nescience), this sort of explanation is useless.

Nay. pr. 181.

एतेन—केवलनिमित्तकारणे वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वं वा समवाय्यसमवायिकारणरहिते वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वं वा—इति मानमनोहरोक्तलक्षणमपि परिभूतं मन्तव्यम् ।

What has been said in the previous paragraph naturally leads to the concept of *guṇa* (quality). What is the definition of *guṇa*? The author of the *Nyāyakandalī* (Śrīdhara) defined it as

सामान्यवानगुणः संयोगविभागयोः निरपेक्षः न कारणं गुणः ।

This is a faulty definition. For it involves reciprocal dependence. The word *aguṇa* used in defining *guṇa* can have its significance only after the concept of *guṇa* is known. And according to the above definition of *guṇa, guṇa* has to be defined in terms of *aguṇa.* That is to say, *guṇa* can be known only in the light of *aguṇa.* This is what is known as mutual dependence.

The author of the *Nyāyalīlāvatī* (*i.e.* Vallabha) gives the following definition of *guṇa*:—

सामान्यवान् अचलनात्मकः समवायिकारणताहीनो गुणः ।

The *samavāyikāraṇa* according to the Naiyāyikas is कार्यं यत्र समवैति तत् समवायिकारणम्. If this definition of *samavāyikāraṇatva* be accepted, *rūpa*(colour)also will have *samavāyikāraṇatva*. So much so when *guṇa* (quality) is defined as that which is devoid of *samavāyikāraṇatva*, colour will lose its claims towards being a quality. This is against *siddhānta.* Thus the definition of *guṇa* given by Vallabha also does not hold good.

In a similar manner the author of *Mānamanohara* defines *guṇa* as

केवलनिमित्तकारणे वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वं or समवाय्यसमवायिकारणतारहिते वर्तमानापरजातीयत्वम् (गुणत्वम्).

This definition also is faulty, for the same reason as in the case of Vallabha's definition.

Nay. Pr. p. 192.

एतेन नित्यत्वे सत्यनेकसमवेतम् (सामान्यम्) इति मानमनोहरकारोक्तलक्षणमपि निरस्तम् ।

This definition of generality is in keeping with the Vaiśeṣika doctrine. Compare with this the definition of *Sāmānya* found in *Praśastapādabhāṣya*:—

सामान्यादीनां त्रयाणां स्वात्मसत्त्वं बुद्धिलक्षणत्वम् अकार्यत्वमकारणत्वम् असामान्यविशेषत्त्वं नित्यत्वम् अर्थशब्दानभिधेयत्वं च ।

Citsukha refutes the definition of *Sāmānya* as found in the *Mānamanohara*, summarising his arguments as follows:—

जातेरव्याप्यसिद्धेश्च सत्तादेरप्यसिद्धितः ।
तदनाश्रयतान्यत्वलक्षणेऽन्योन्यसंश्रयः ॥

For the advaitins, Ātman alone is *nitya* and so *nityatva* is *asiddha*. *Anekasamavetatva* also is *asiddha* for two reasons. First of all there is no reality except ātman. Secondly *samavāya* is not accepted by the advaitins. Thus the definition

नित्यत्वे सति अनेकसमवेतं सामान्यम्

is *asiddha* for the advaitins.

Nay. Pr. p. 198.

मानमनोहरीयमनुमानं शङ्कते—आकाशमिति ।

This is in connection with the topic of particularity (*viśeṣa*). The actual *anumāna* is found in *Citsukhī*:—

आकाशं गुणसामान्यव्यतिरिक्तसमवायि द्रव्यत्वात्, घटवत्, इति मानमनोहरोक्तमनुमानान्तरम् अस्ति इति चेत्, मैवम् ।

The point of the criticism is the non-acceptance of *samavāya*.

This eventually leads to the consideration of *samavāya*. Inherence according to the Naiyāyikas has been defined as *nityaḥ sambandhaḥ* or eternal relation. An advaitin could not accept this definition for obvious reasons. For them (advaitins) every-

thing except ātman is unreal, and how can they subscribe to the view which accepts *samavāya* as a permanent relation?

Some Naiyāyikas, in order to establish *samavāya*, put forth an *anumāna*, somewhat as follows:—

प्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् आकाशमात्मना संयुज्यते, संयोगित्वात् , घटवत् ।

By this syllogism they desired to prove that some relation exists between ātman and *ākāśa*. *Ākāśa* being real (स चैको विभु नित्यं च) the nature of the relation between it and ātman should be real. That is, the relation between *ākāśa* and ātman is real, and is called *samavāya*.

The author of the *Mānamanohara* had some objection to this *anumāna*. His contention was this. A counter syllogism (*pratyanumāna*) to the above can be easily put up.

तत्र क्रियावत्त्वस्य मूर्तत्वस्य परत्वापरत्वयोर्वा उपाधेः, आत्मा आकाशेन न संयुज्यते, अमूर्तत्वात् , रूपादिवत् , इति ।

Citsukha points out that this is faulty. What Mānamanoharakāra said is not true. *Kriyāvatva*, *mūrtatva* etc. are not the *upādhis* there. The real *upādhi* (qualifying adjunct) is *asaṁyogitva*. Further in the usage—आकाशमात्मना संयुज्यते—what is sought to be stated is not the relation between *ātman* and *ākāśa* or *samavāya*, but that ātman is the substrate for *ākāśa*. Then how can *mūrtatva* etc. function as *upādhis*? That is to say, *samavāya* is not reasonable.

The Naiyāyikas point out in the above method, that the *anumāna* put forth by them is quite valid (*abādhita*). Hence *samavāya* has to be acceded to. Citsukha seeks to refute this point at some length and begins his refutation thus:—

किं चेदमबाधितत्वं सर्वानुमानेषु विवक्षितम् , किं प्रत्यक्षेण अबाधितत्वम् , उत युक्त्या, किं वा व्यवहारे बाधराहित्यम् ?

In connection with the third alternative Mānamanoharakāra is introduced.

व्यवहारे बाधाभावोऽबाध्यत्वमिति तृतीयपक्षे व्यभिचारमाह 'नापि तृतीयः' इत्यादिना । एतेन विवादाध्यासितं नित्यसम्बन्धेन सम्बद्धम् , द्रव्यत्वात् , आकाशवत् , इति मानमनोहरोक्तमपि निरस्तम् , विशेषणविशेष्यभावेन अर्थान्तरत्वात् ।

(See न. प्र. p. 204.)

Mānamanoharakāra seems to have held something like this. *Samavāya* is related to *nitya-sambandha*, because it is a *padārtha* like *ākāśa*.

This opinion of Mānamanohara can be set aside easily. We need not hold that because *samavāya* also is a *padārtha* like *ākāśa*, it should be related to *nityasambandha*. It would be sufficient to say that *nitya-sambandha* qualifies *samavāya*. No invariable concomitance or *vyāpti* exists between *samavāya* and *nitya-sambandha* as between smoke and fire. They function only as *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*, so that the definition —नित्यः सम्बन्धः समवायः—does not hold good.

मानमनोहरीयमनुमानम् अभावसिद्धौ उदाहरति 'ननु कथम्' इत्यादिना।

(न. प्र. p. 278.)

In setting forth some *prima facie* views about the concept of *abhāva* (non-existence) Citsukha finally says:—

तदेवमवधीरितभावाभावभूतलादेः उपलम्भादेव अभावव्यवहारसंभवे तदतिरिक्ताभावाभ्युपगमो निष्प्रमाणक एव।

Impatient on hearing something similar to this, Mānamanoharakāra is introduced as voicing forth his opinion in the following:—

ननु कथं निष्प्रमाणकता ? चक्षुः चाक्षुषभावातिरिक्तग्राहकम्, इन्द्रियत्वात्, घ्राणवत्। निर्घटं भूतलम् इति विज्ञानम् एतद्विज्ञानालम्बनभावमात्रातिरिक्तालम्बनम्, एतद्भावमात्रालम्बननिर्विकल्पकेतरज्ञानत्वात्, सघटं भूतलम् इति ज्ञानवत्, इति प्रमाणे जाग्रति ?

What is *saṁyoga*? Sarvadeva, author of *Pramāṇamañjarī* defines it as

गुणत्वावान्तरजात्या द्रव्यासमवायिकारणजातीयः संयोगः।

Mānamanoharakāra defines it as either अनित्यः सम्बन्धः (in contrast to *samavāya*) or as

घटजनकतदवयवनिष्ठगुणत्वावान्तरजातीयः संयोगः।

(न. प्र. p. 296.)

This also is refuted by Citsukha.

After *saṁyoga*, contact, arises the question of *vibhāga* (disjunction or separation.)

Mānamanohara would define *vibhāga* as

संयोगसमानाश्रयत्वे सति संयोगनाशको विभागः।

(न. प्र. p. 297.)

There is a view among some thinkers that *vibhāga* is cognised by perception. As the mountains Himālayas and Vindhya are separated by a considerable space, one cannot hold that *vibhāga* in this and similar instances is *saṁyoga-nāśaka*; because no contact can be imagined between the two. But since there is the *pratīti* that Himavān and Vindhya are separate, this separateness or disjunction is cognised by perception.

The author of *Mānamanohara* objects to this view as follows. He says that in such cases there is no *pratīti* of separateness at all. The usage, Himālayas and Vindhya are separate, is explained by him, having recourse to a secondary sense.

मनोहरस्तु—तादृशस्थले प्रतीतिरेव नास्ति, शब्दप्रयोगस्तु गौणः—इत्याह । तदसत्; एतादृशानुभवपरिहारपारिजातस्य प्रकृतेऽपि सुलभत्वात् ।

(न. प्र. p. 298.)

एवं भाष्यकाराद्यभिमतमनुमानं दूषयित्वा मनोहरीयमनुमानं दूषयितुमुद्भावयति—कर्मेति ।

(न. प्र. p. 299.)

Praśastapāda held *vibhāga* also as giving rise to sound. (विभागः शब्दहेतुश्च.) This is illustrated by the sound produced when a piece of bamboo is split up. This contention of Praśastapāda is said to be wrong. The act of splitting alone fails to produce sound. Speed in the action also should be combined to give rise to the sound. In this context *karma* (action) has to be defined and Mānamanohara's definition of activity is given below:

कर्म संयोगातिरिक्तासमवायिकारणम्, संयोगातिरिक्तत्वे सति असमवायिकारणत्वात्, रूपवत् ।

(See *Citsukhī*, p. 299.)

This is set aside by Citsukha at some length. He says:—

संयोगस्य निरस्तत्वात् गुणानामनिरूपणात् ।

जातेश्च दुर्निरूपत्वात् स्यादसंभवि लक्षणम् ॥

Regarding *parimāṇa* (measurement or magnitude) Mānamanoharakāra is said to hold the same view as Śivāditya.

शिवादित्यमनोहरयोः अभिमतलक्षणं दूषयति.

(न. प्र. pp. 309-10.)

Both of them held thus:—

मानव्यवहारकारणं परिमाणम्, or द्वित्वसमवायिकारणकवृत्तिगुणत्वावान्तरजातीयं परिमाणम् ।

Citsukha refutes this on the ground that *dvitva* is *asiddha* as also *dvitvasamavāyikāraṇa*. *Mānamanohara* is credited with another *anumāna* here:

विवादाध्यासितं (परिमाणम्) द्विष्ठगुणानसमवायिकारणानित्यविशेषगुण-व्यतिरिक्ताद्विष्ठगुणाश्रयः, द्रव्यत्वात्, जलाणुवत् ।

Citsukha objects to this also as follows:—

आद्यस्योपाधिमत्त्वेन साध्याभावान्निदर्शने ।
द्वितीयस्योभयत्रापि प्रतिसाधनरोधनात् ॥

If *Mānamanohara* would say that *sparśavattva*, *mūrtatva* are not *upādhis*, Citsukha will not leave him easily.

यदत्र तेनैव (मानमनोहरकारेणैव) उक्तं—न च स्पर्शवत्त्वमूर्तत्वे उपाधी, पवनपार्थिवपरमाणुव्यभिचारात्—इति, तद् दूषयति 'न च' इति

(See न. प्र. p. 311.)

In connection with the topic of activity *Mānamanohara* is once more introduced in Citsukhī, with the following syllogism:-

एतेन मानमनोहरप्रयोगोऽप्यपास्तः—विवादाध्यासितं कार्यं विशेषगुण-रहितद्रव्याभ्यां जन्यते, कार्यत्वात्, अन्तःकरणद्वयसंयोगवत्—इति । तत्रापि दृष्टान्तस्य साध्यविकलत्वात् ।

(*Citsukhī* ,p. 327).

Again in connection with the topic of salvation, *mukti*, emancipation from bondage, Citsukha is said to be referring to Mānamanoharakāra.

न च कायव्यूहनिर्माणेन जीवन्मुक्तिदशायाम् अशेषसुखोपयोगाङ्गीकारात् समन्वयफलत्वदोषपरिहारः । विदेहकैवल्ये दुःखाननुभववत् सुखानुभवस्याप्य-भावात् ।

(*Citsukhī*, p. 355.)

The commentator makes the reference clear:

एतेनैतदप्यपास्तं यदाह मानमनोहरकारः—योगर्द्धिमासादितचिरकालोप-भोग्यसुखविशेषपरत्वेऽप्युपपत्तेः—इति, तादृशसुखस्य मुक्तावभावात् ।

(न. प्र. p. 355.)

These are the references available in *Citsukhī* and its commentary, *Nayanaprasādinī*, to the author of the *Mānamanohara*.

A few other references to him are found in Ānandānubhava's (1100 A.D.) works. I shall state them in the following. In discussing the nature of Īśvara, the author of the *Mānamanohara*,

like the Vaiśeṣikas, seems to have held the view that the existence of Īśvara is to be inferred from the fact that he is the creator of all this *kāryaprapañca*. That is to say, the existence of Īśvara is established by inference. Just as a potter who makes a pot knows the pot and also the art of making it, so also Īśvara, the creator of this *prapañca* should be inferred to exist similar to the potter. This is the view of the Vaiśeṣikas.

To this Ānandānubhava objects as follows. The reason set forth by the author of the *Mānamanohara* is unsound for two reasons. First there is a *bādhakatarka* (counter-reason) to establish the contrary. Secondly the *hetu* is *atiprasakta*. Ānandānubhava is very vehement in condemning the author of *Mānamanohara* as can be seen from the very despicable phrases he uses in his *anumāna*.

यत्तु वामन(वाम?)मतानुसारिणा मानमनोहरेण प्रलपितम्—अयम् एतद्धटजनकानित्येतरज्ञानजननकार्यत्वात्, पटवत्—इति, तद्विपक्षे बाधकतर्काभावात् अतिप्रसङ्गहतत्वात् च शङ्किताप्रयोजकम्। तथा हि—'मानमनोहरकर्तृशरीरं एतज्जनकागर्दभेतरजन्यम्, कार्यत्वात्, कुम्भवत्' इत्यपि तेनानुमीयेत। विशिष्टं च साध्यं तस्य अप्रसिद्धम्। प्रपञ्चितं चैतत् न्यायरत्नदीपावल्याम्। अतो न विपञ्च्यते। तस्मात् न तटस्थेश्वरसिद्धिः मानतः संभवति।

(See p. 81 of *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, Madras Ms. R. 2981.)

Ānandānubhava says here that this point has been already exemplified by him in his *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*. The reference in this work is as follows:—

(*a*) यदपि वाममार्गानुसारिणा मानमनोहरे प्रलपितम्

(p. 166 of *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*, Madras Ms. R. 5505.)

(*b*) तथा हि—मानमनोहरकर्तृशरीरम् एतज्जनकाचण्डालेतरजनितम्, कार्यत्वात्, etc.

(*ibid.* p. 167.)

Ānandagiri wrote commentaries[1] on both *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* and *Padārthatattvanirṇaya* of Ānandānubhava. From his commentary called Tarkaviveka on *Padārthatattvanirṇaya*, some

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1. Mss. of both these works are available in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. See numbers R. 4459 and R. 4342. They are called *Vedāntaviveka* and *Tarkaviveka*, respectively.

details about the author of *Mānamanohara* can be culled. They are—

(*a*) विरुद्धकोटिसंस्पर्शशून्यो निश्चयोऽनवसाय इति मानमनोहरः (p. 93.)

(*b*) भासर्वज्ञः षोढा, पञ्चधा चोदयनः, मानमनोहरः चतुर्धा हेत्वाभासभेदमवादीत् । (p. 104.)

This shows that *Mānamanohara* classified fallacies of reason as four-fold.

(*c*) विमतो गुणो ज्ञानाद्यतिरिक्तासाधारणगुणजन्यः, कर्मकारणगुणत्वात्, गुरुत्ववत् (इति ?)[1] इच्छाद्वेषयोः सिद्धिं मानमनोहरकारो व्याजहार । (p. 149.)

(*d*) यत्तु—विमतः संयोगो विशेषगुणरहितद्रव्याभ्यां जन्यते, संयोगत्वात्, अन्तःकरणद्वयसंयोगवत् । विमतम् उक्तसाध्यवत्, कार्यत्वात, सम्मतवत् इत्यनुमानाभ्यां दिक्कालयोः सिद्धिः—इति मानमनोहरकारो व्याजहार, तदयुक्तम, अन्तःकरणस्य विशेषगुणत्वात्, दृष्टान्तस्य साध्यविकलत्वात् ।

(*e*) Ānandagiri's reference to Mānamanoharakāra in connection with the *anavasthā* in *bheda* has been already indicated above. Here the author is not mentioned by his name or his work.

In his commentary on *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī*, Ānandagiri does not give any additional information about *Mānamanohara*.

These are the available references to the author of *Mānamanohara*. To make a critical and exhaustive study of all these points will lead to an examination of all the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* tenets and also to their criticism from an advaitic stand-point. This is no place or occasion to enter into a detailed discussion of these topics. One clear fact is that these references to *Mānamanoharakāra* show that at some period (about 1000 A.D.). Vāgiśvara had been accepted as an authoritative exponent of the Vaiśeṣika system of thought. But unfortunately his claims to the authoritative position seem to be only short-lived. Because he was very severely criticised by *Ānandānubhava, Citsukha* and *Pratyaksvarūpa* and after *Vidyāraṇya* (14th century A. D.) no reference to him is to be found in the writings of later authors.

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1. The word *'iti'*, though not found in the Ms. seems necessary in the context.

OBITUARY

We have heard with great regret the passing away of Mr. P. V. Naganatha Sastri, Advocate, Tanjore. He was for many years a Member of the Editorial Committee of our Journal. In him, we had the rather uncommon combination of a professional lawyer and a scholar of wide culture and tastes. He was deeply read in English literature and in Sanskrit literature. Amidst the pre-occupations of a busy life as a lawyer, he found time to pursue his intense study of them. He specialised in Sanskrit rhetoric and in Sanskrit Grammar. He edited and published the Bhāmaha Alaṅkāra with an accurate translation and notes. We know that he was writing and had intended to publish an original Primer in Sanskrit Grammar. The Journal at its inception and also during the many years of its existence had profited greatly by his valuable advice and suggestions. He commanded a racy English style and was a vivacious and ready-witted conversationist. He was very simple and unassuming in his private life and had a pure and noble character. In his death, the world of scholars and cultured men has sustained a great loss. We beg to express to his sons and other members of his family our heart-felt sympathy in their sad bereavement.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE COCHIN SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 2, PRAVESAKA : BY ACYUTA PISHAROTI, WITH LAGHUVIVRTI : BY P. S. ANANTANARAYANA SASTRI, Sanskrit Pandit, Maharaja's College Ernakulam, Editor. P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Price Rs. 1-4-0.

This is an easy treatise of Sanskrit Grammar in verse written by a very learned Vyākaraṇa scholar Acyuta Pisharoti who was also well versed also in Nyāya and Jyotiṣa. It aims at giving a working knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar necessary for writing and speaking Sanskrit correctly. It is a work of the Prakaraṇa type. Such works are absolutely necessary for students of Sanskrit Grammar. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin must indeed be congratulated

on their having conceived and promoted the idea of the publication of the Cochin Sanskrit Series and for beginning that Series with two such works like those of the Vedānta Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha and the Praveśaka.

THE KAVINDRA CANDRODAYA. EDITED BY DR. HAR DUTT SARMA, M.A., PH.D. AND MR. M. M. PATKAR, B.A. Poona Oriental Series, 60. Oriental Book Agency, Poona 1939. Price not stated.

In the dark days of Hinduism when its capitals were at the mercy of Mohammedan rulers, there were great Paṇḍitas and Sannyāsins in the City of Benares who admirably assumed the leadership of their oppressed religion. Nṛsiṁhāśramin, celebrated in the Nṛsiṁhasarvasvakāvya is one of them and he was a contemporary of Akbar. A contemporary of Shah Jehan was the Dekhani Sannyāsin residing in Benares, Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, who interviewed the Mogul King and got abolished the Jessia levied on the bathers and pilgrims at Kāśī and Prayāga. The grateful world of scholars presented the Sannyāsin with addresses in verse and prose, all of which the Sannyāsin's treasurer Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa collected in the form of the anthology the Kavīndra Candrodaya. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri noticed the contents of this anthology in 1912 in the *Indian Antiquary*, XLI, and in 1928, in the IV Vol. of his *A. S. B. Catalogues.* Mr. R. A. Sastri then published in the G. O. S. the list of the large and valuable collection of Mss. which Kavīndrācārya had collected in his library in Benares. Dr. Har Dutt Sarma then reviewed the contents of the anthology in *Mm. Kuppusvami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, in 1935. The last scholar has now, in association with M. M. Patkar of the B. O. R. I, Poona, offered us an edition of the Kavīndra Candrodaya, incorporating all that has been known and said of the hero, Kavīndra, in an Introduction. The Introduction identifies also some of the authors figuring in the addresses. The present reviewer has attempted in an article contributed to the *Bhandarkar Number of the Indian Culture*, to add to the information already known about Kavīndrācārya, his life and achievements and the literary contributions he has left to us.

The editors have used three Mss. which have proved insufficient to eliminate the errors. Some more Mss. could have

been used. On p. 21, verse 159 in which a town named Prakāśa is described, letter by letter in a round-about way, the first line works some letters metrically; also the footnote reading here (No. 4) is correct and not the reading in the body of the text.

Apart from historians of literature who will be thankful to the editors and the publishers, Hindu society in general must feel thankful for the publication of a work revealing the personality of one of the little known heroes of Hinduism.

V. RAGHAVAN.

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit Kiel, University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory. . . . . A journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.— . . . . This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly written articles: a pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle," 12th December, 1926.— . . . . The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review," November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research. . . . . The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning. . . . . .

"New India," 20th December, 1926,— . . . . . . The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th February, 1927.— . . . . . The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.— . . . . The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work. . .

Dr. Sylvain, Paris.— . . . . It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.— . . . . I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions. . .

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PINTED BY R. NARAYANASWAMI IYER,
AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MYLAPORE, MADRAS